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Yeltsin Aide Stankevich on 'Secret' Human Rights Report

MK1606101693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 3

[Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, Jr., report: "'Russian Club' Conference. Sergey Stankevich Denounces Catherine Lalumiere's Stance"]

[Text] Violations of the rights of ethnic Russians in the former Soviet republics continue to attract attention of various political forces in Russia. Presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich, speaking at a conference of the "Russian Club" International Nongovernmental Organization, which ended yesterday, accused Council of Europe Chairman Catherine Lalumiere of personally assisting Estonia in joining the Council of Europe although human rights have been violated in the republic. In addition, Mr. Stankevich gave your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent a memo containing the key provisions of a secret report for the president about the problems of the Russian diaspora in the newly independent countries.

During yesterday's meeting of the board held at the Russian Club's head office, club cochairmen Sergey Stankevich and Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev signed a number of statements to be sent to the Council of Europe, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE], and the governments of the newly independent countries regarding human rights violations against ethnic Russians. The texts of the statements were adopted at the club's conference, which ended the previous day—thus, the board meeting effectively turned out to be the follow-up to the conference. The conference was attended by representatives of Russian communities from the Baltic states, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, and other republics of the former USSR.

Mr. Stankevich, who presented to the conference a report on the position of the Russian-speaking population in the newly independent countries, said that under a secret order by Boris Yeltsin he and Aleksandr Granberg, the president's adviser on social matters, drew up a roundup report called "Problems of the Russian Diaspora." According to Stankevich the document was immediately classified. The Russian Foreign Ministry and the presidential administration are evidently afraid that its publication would jeopardize the course of the negotiating process with the governments of a number of former Soviet republics. Nonetheless, Stankevich gave your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent a 40-page memo, which, he said, contained the key provisions of the secret document.

In addition, Mr. Stankevich said in his address to the conference that the stance by Council of Europe Chairman Catherine Lalumiere, who personally sponsored Estonia's joining the council was, "to put it mildly, unscrupulous." Asked by your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent to comment on the Russian president's statement that Russian troops will stay in the Baltic states as long as human rights continue to be violated there, Mr. Stankevich said: "Abrupt actions not always contribute to success."

Thus, in a situation where the leaders of the newly independent countries, particularly Estonia and Latvia, lacking legal arguments, prefer to enter into political, and not legal, polemics with representatives of the Russian side, the activity of the Russian Club, drawing attention to this problem, appears to be entirely pertinent to the current situation.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Some provision from the secret report by the Russian president's advisers entitled "Problems of the Russian Diaspora in the Newly Independent Countries"

—An entirely new situation has emerged where the position of our Russian compatriots in the newly independent countries may either usher in a new geopolitical balance, or provoke a post-Soviet civil war;

—Legally, the new Russia is not only the legal successor to the historical statehood originating with Ryurik [the first Russian royal line], but also to the former USSR;

—The Russian people and other peoples of the RSFSR within the Soviet Union were victims of the regime that seized power in the country, so Russia cannot and must not be held responsible for the crimes committed by that regime;

—According to the latest public opinion polls conducted in the Baltic countries, Ukraine, Moldova, Central Asia, Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, and Yakutia, when asked who can be considered a Russian, 37.4 percent of those polled said: Anyone who considers himself or herself a Russian.

Kozyrev Warns Against 'Double Standards' on Human Rights

PM1606191593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Yevgeniy Bay and Sergey Tosunyan report: "United Nations Center To Be Set Up in Moscow"]

[Text] Vienna—UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev have signed an agreement in Vienna to open a Combined UN Embassy in Moscow.

The decision to set up a diplomatic mission of the largest international organization in Moscow was made during the World Conference on Human Rights, which is being held in the Austrian capital and which has been addressed by A. Kozyrev. The Russian minister's tough 15-minute speech prompted applause from many delegates tired of the sterile and lengthy speeches by the representatives of many developing countries.

A. Kozyrev noted that Russia, which is potentially a very rich country with huge spiritual resources, has paid for isolated "Soviet democracy" and "socialist" human rights with social backwardness, and therefore we have the moral right to warn with the utmost clarity against special concepts of human rights for Asia or the "South" and against pitting one category of rights against another.

Warning against aggressive nationalism, A. Kozyrev talked frankly about Russia's concerns over "ethnic cleansing," which is now being undertaken in "white gloves," so to speak. Disregard for the rights of national minorities is threatening to damage the Baltic region and to create in Europe zones of "lowered" and double standards in the approach toward human rights. We cannot agree with this, A. Kozyrev said, if only because we do not want to make such a gift to the communist-fascist, red-brown opposition in Russia.

The speech by the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan leader, who was not allowed to participate in the conference owing to China's categorical opposition, was also one of the main events of the second day of the World Conference on Human Rights. Admittedly, he was given the floor not at the plenary session, but in a building belonging to the largest human rights organization, "Amnesty International," which, according to the Austrian press, was a sensible compromise on the part of the conference organizers.

Vigorous diplomatic consultations are also continuing within the framework of the forum. A. Kozyrev has met with Israeli Foreign Minister Sh. Peres, Egyptian Foreign Minister 'A. Musa, and Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. The meetings discussed the progress of the Arab-Israeli talks, which have resumed in the United States.

Communists Hold Debate on Human Rights Issues

PM1606081593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Report by the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Press Service: "'Roundtable' in Vienna"]

[Text] A "roundtable" on the topic "Human Rights and the Socialist Movement" organized by the leadership of the Austrian Communist Party completed its work in Vienna last week. It was attended by leaders and representatives of communist and left-wing parties in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Chile, India, Palestine, and also the African National Congress (Republic of South Africa).

The roundtable was held on the eve of the opening of a UN human rights conference in the Austrian capital and pursued the aim of identifying and informing the world public of the left-wing forces' position on these issues.

The Russian representative in the roundtable's work was G.A. Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee, who familiarized his foreign colleagues with the political situation in the Russian Federation and the position of the communist and left-wing movement in the country. Well-known political and public figures such as Hans Modrow from the FRG, Romesh Chandra from India, Oscar Martinez from Cuba, Walter Bayeri [last name as transliterated] and Franz Muhri from Austria, and others also spoke at the roundtable.

The roundtable also discussed the following issues: an analysis of the real situation regarding the political and social rights of the individual in the modern world; the rights of minorities in capitalist conditions in the USSR and other countries; human rights under the domination of imperialist centers of power; Marxist and left-wing positions and alternatives on the human rights issue; and national and international solidarity in the struggle for a humane world.

The roundtable participants agreed to continue their contacts on these and other issues.

Shaposhnikov on Organizing Joint Armed Forces

LD1506165693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By correspondent Sergey Omelchenko on session of Council of CIS Defense Ministers, including recorded remarks by Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Omelchenko] Although I am entering Russia's service, I will not stop serving the Commonwealth, said Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, when he opened a regular session of the Council of CIS Defense Ministers today. The marshal analyzed opportunities which have been missed and ones which still exist for preserving military-political cooperation in the CIS. He acknowledged that efforts exerted in this direction have, so far, not produced the desired results. The commander pinned the principal blame for this on the consequences of a formerly oppressed but now overinflated national awareness, accompanied by destructive imperial ambitions.

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] I am beginning to realize that around me there is either a kind of vacuum or a wall which it is difficult to penetrate. In such circumstances, naturally, it is difficult and, possibly, premature to talk seriously of joint armed forces. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov confirmed that the president of Russia has offered him the post of secretary of the National Security Council. The headquarters of the chief command considers that the time has come for a reorganization. The Council of Defense Ministers may now be replaced by some kind of joint command headquarters. It is being predicted that Boris Gromov, deputy minister of defense, may head this new body. But no matter how the leadership of the CIS Armed Forces eventually decides to transform itself, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov concluded on an optimistic note by saying that we are doomed to cooperate, both now and in the future, adding that this should be achieved in an evolutionary way, without rushing anything.

Outlines Security Council Role

PM1606161793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Marshal Shaposhnikov Goes to Work in Civilian Clothes, But Promises to Continue Fighting To Strengthen the Commonwealth"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov agreed to take up the post of Russian Federation Security Council secretary only after he had been telephoned by the presidents of Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Armenia, and the other Commonwealth countries. He started work in his new job on 16 June.

The day before, after a session of the Commonwealth Defense Ministers' Council, which decided to eliminate the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command and turn it into the Joint Headquarters to Coordinate Military Cooperation Among the CIS Countries, headed by Colonel General Viktor Samsonov, the marshal met with journalists in his office on Leningradskiy Prospekt.

"We did not manage to create joint armed forces," he said. "Many Commonwealth countries and their armies and leaders were not prepared to do this for a number of reasons—organizational, technical, economic, and financial—and also because of the continuing disintegration tendency."

But, according to the marshal, the former republics of the former Union are, in fact, destined to cooperate in the military sphere.

By switching to work in the Russian Security Council, he said, I will be able to continue fighting to strengthen this cooperation. The dialectics of security today are such that without collective security there cannot be national, including Russian, security.

Shaposhnikov said that Boris Yeltsin had offered him the post of Russian Security Council secretary on his own initiative. Twice he had invited him over to talk about it, consulted with the heads of other Commonwealth states, and secured their agreement. The commander in chief did not accept the invitation immediately. But after he had been called by Nursultan Nazarbayev, Leonid Kravchuk, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and other CIS leaders, who supported the Russian president's request and persuaded him that he would be able to work to consolidate the CIS in the new post and influence the strengthening of cooperation and integration from commonsense positions, the marshal indicated he would accept the new post.

The "nuclear button" stays with me, he said. But I believe that the heads of Commonwealth states will probably decide in time to transfer it to another individual in the Russian leadership. According to observers, this is likely to be the country's defense minister.

Many commentators suggest that the appointment of Shaposhnikov as Security Council secretary strengthens the president's positions in that body and in his confrontation with the Russian Supreme Soviet. It is well known that the commander in chief is "Yeltsin's man," and most people remember his decisive role in supporting the head of sovereign Russia during the August putsch.

Answering your IZVESTIYA correspondent's question on this matter and commenting on his relationship with parliament, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said: "Whose positions I strengthen is not a matter for me. Look at it whatever way you want. Wherever I work, I work not for an individual but for the interests of the state in accordance with my conscience and the laws. My relations with the Supreme Soviet will also develop in this vein."

Pointing out that his appointment as Security Council secretary still has to be confirmed by a Russian parliamentary decision, the marshal stressed that relations with the leadership of the supreme body of legislative authority must be businesslike, constructive, concrete, and filled with good human content. Great Russia can do without confrontation in the leadership, he said.

At the same time, IZVESTIYA has learned that none of the Supreme Soviet leaders, except for the chairmen of the committees on defense, international cooperation, and some others, has congratulated the marshal yet on his new appointment. And, according to a number of experts, the confirmation of the appointment in the present situation is unlikely to be a smooth and painless process.

Shaposhnikov said that his main concern would be the elaboration of a blueprint for Russian national security, which does not exist at the moment, unfortunately. Security of the individual, society, and then the state will take pride of place in it. In this he will be relying on experts from the Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry, and other power departments, foreign intelligence, and also the State Committee for Emergencies, the Russian leadership's powerful information analysis center, and Russia's scientific and intellectual potential. I will choose my secretariat team not on the basis of personal dedication but on the basis of practical and moral qualities, he said. I will try to find the best possible combination of the experience of people who have already worked there and of those whose help I could always depend on in the Joint Armed Forces High Command.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that he would be going to work in civilian clothes, but he would also need his marshal's uniform occasionally. He will still be serving in the Army and does not intend to retire. His aim in the new post is to help Russia become, in every respect, a stronger, cleaner, more decent, and more moral country. "If it does not work out," he said, "I will always be able to say goodbye, although I am certainly not planning on doing that."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 16 Jun

LD1606050993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0453 GMT 16 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—The current constitutional conference in the capital of Russia remains the central topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), while optimistically evaluating the work done by participants in the conference, points out on the eve of today's plenary session, which is called upon to sum up the main results of the first phase, that "all political forces can reconcile themselves at the constitutional conference".

In the opinion of Vitaliy Tretyakov, editor-in-chief of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, who comments on the work of the constitutional conference in today's issue of the newspaper, the true aim of the conference is to achieve "constitutional reconciliation" between the conflicting branches of power. In the process, Tretyakov believes, "the text of a 'constitutional reconciliation' can be created but, firstly, that will not be 'peace for ever', as it is being portrayed so far, and, secondly, negotiators can quickly swap or change their positions".

PRAVDA, commenting on the situation in Azerbaijan, writes that "rebel units, led by Colonel Suret Guseynov, on Tuesday were at a distance of only 100 kilometres from Baku." However, the Azerbaijani authorities continue to "use only political actions so far" to settle the situation in the country.

The election on Tuesday of Geydar Aliyev, former leader of the Azerbaijani Communists, who recently acted as an intermediary between the rebellious military and the Azerbaijan authorities, to the post of the republican parliament speaker is described by the newspaper as his triumph.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, estimating the situation in Azerbaijan, states that "the Guseynov-led rebels are categorical in their demands", insisting on the resignation of the entire leadership of the republic, including the president. At the same time the newspaper quotes Colonel Guseynov as saying that if people tells him to down arms he would obey the demand.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, pointing to an "extremely tense situation in Azerbaijan", does not rule out the possibility of an outbreak of a civil war there. Simultaneously, the newspaper reports that "the families of the U.S. Embassy staff and representatives of oil companies are leaving Baku".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports in detail the development of Russia's humanitarian operation in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. The operation, the newspaper believes, will "save thousands of human lives in Abkhazia". The newspaper emphasises an active participation of the Russian military in the delivery of cargoes and the evacuation of the population from dangerous zones.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an article on the critical situation that has taken shape in Ukraine as a result of a strike called by the coal miners of the Donets coal basin (Donbass), which has practically developed into a nation-wide strike. The newspaper, while pointing out that the miners "have launched a civil disobedience campaign", notes that if the strikers' political and economic demands are not met, Donbass would be in for a "complete shutdown of coal mines".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an interview with Ayhan Kemal, the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Russia, who pointed out, in particular, that Russia and Turkey "have a common goal—to maintain peace and stability and cooperate in tackling regional problems".

The Turkish ambassador emphasised that "the two countries bear special responsibility for the ensurance of security in the vast geopolitical space from the Balkans to the Transcaucasus" and expressed satisfaction with the successful development of bilateral economic relations.

Press Review for 17 Jun

LD1706044493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0439 GMT 17 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—Ukrainian developments, the Russian-Ukranian summit, and the end of the first stage of the constitutional assembly are highlighted by the Moscow press on Thursday.

The events in Donbass and other regions of Ukraine where some 1.5 million striking miners advance political and economic demands is a warning also to Russian politicians, the military KRASNAYA ZVEZDA said. The idea of independence proclaimed by Ukraine "has been absolutised to such a degree that in the final end it resulted in a decrease in the living standards", the newspaper said asking what then is the independence necessary for. "This should make us think whether we are not absolutising political postulates in Russia while forgetting about economy".

Chairman of the Federation of Ukrainian Trade Unions Aleksandr Stoyan blasted the national parliament in an interview with TRUD saying the legislature "became a brake on the way of stabilisation in society with its fruitless discussions".

The question of confidence to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk even if it is raised does not mean an immediate resignation, according to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Kravchuk will still have enough time before the confidence vote to try and improve the situation. The newspaper believes Kravchuk may unite with pro-communist forces.

ROSSISKAYA GAZETA said in a commentary that despite the dangerous situation President Krachuk is defending himself in a well-thought-out and quiet manner. The essence of his tactics is to make the strikers drown in disputes about the time of the solution of existing problems and stick in legislative traps like the one which had emerged at the parliamentary session: it turned out that existing legislation makes it difficult even to raise the issue of confidence to the president.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA said in their reports from Ukraine that the striking miners are ready for new protests.

The Russian-Ukrainian summit to be held today is officially devoted to the Black Sea Fleet dispute, but the whole complex of Russian-Ukrainian relations will be discussed, according to press reports. If the Ukrainian leadership changes its course of alienation with former Soviet partners to a policy of strengthening long-standing relations with Russia and other former ex-Soviet republics this can lead to a breakthough in issues which seemed to be in a deadend forever. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA notes that such a shift can lead both to a new quality in Russian-Ukrainian relations and to a completely new qualitative improvement of the commonwealth.

Commenting on the constitutional assembly TRUD and other newspapers stressed that the most complicated problems concern ways of adopting a new constitution and the election law. It quotes Boris Yeltsin as telling a plenary meeting on Wednesday that there are all grounds to speak about an emerging single draft constitution. KOMSOMOLKAYA PRAVDA notes in this connection that "the subjects of the federation can become the only and the most serious obstacle on the way of concluding the constitutional reform".

Deputy Prime Minister Previews Black Sea Fleet Talks

AU1706054493 Moscow Radio Moscow in German 1500 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Unattributed report on "exclusive" interview with Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov, head of the Russian delegation to the negotiations with Ukraine on the Black Sea Fleet, "prior to the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk on 17 June;" place not given]

[Text] Russia respects every sovereign state and its right to determine its fate without outside interference, says Yuriy Yarov. So we are not trying to change the course, the position, and the policy of such states. We have had and will continue to have friendly, fraternal relations with Ukraine. We are not indifferent to what is going on in our neighbor country. It is well known that Russia has always considered it impossible not to help Ukraine in complicated situations. This means, among other things, that we do not discontinue oil and natural gas supplies now that Ukraine does not pay us the full price for those supplies.

We need each other, and this position is being formed and is being developed. We have realized that traditional economic and cultural relations must not be sacrificed when sovereign tasks are solved. One is forced to take reality into account today to solve one's own internal tasks. We are pleased to note that everyone realizes that we can only help each other in cooperation, and that in so doing we will come closer to the goal that Ukraine and Russia have in mind. I think this is the most important thing. It inspires every politician and causes him to revise his former positions. I am glad this is so, because in that case, there will be more agreement, mutual support, and help.

At the summit talks in Moscow, the problem of the Black Sea Fleet will be discussed. What is Russia's position in this connection?

Every side—I am primarily speaking about the Ukrainian delegation, with which we are working—must strictly observe, and not revise, the existing accords, says Yuriy Yarov. Such consensus is necessary. The Russian and Ukrainian fleets and naval forces will be organized on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet being divided. In what way? We believe that it must be divided into equal parts, meaning everything that the Black Sea Fleet comprises. There are not only ships, but also the very complicated ground and air infrastructure. All this must be divided.

Ukraine is now trying to dodge this agreement, which was reached at the previous summit meetings. One must return and adopt these positions.

The second problem is deployment. We do not claim any territory. One does not have to give Russia territories, but the naval base at Sevastopol. We, the Russians, are ready to pay the lease, however, we will not pay money, but will sign agreements on Russia's participation in the development of the infrastructure of the city, help construct social facilities, and help solve environmental problems. That is Russia's position.

If those two problems are settled at the meeting of the two presidents, we will be able to solve all the other problems at the governmental level within a month and sign agreements, says Yuriy Yarov.

Is it possible for Russia and Ukraine to narrow their differences on those problems, and can a compromise be reached, which would of course require the strict observance of the two countries' national interests?

It is, of course, possible, says Russian Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov. The Russian and Ukrainian presidents are entitled to instruct us to deal with any compromise they may find. It is possible to find many variants of a compromise. In this context, we will never accept the idea of the partner being humiliated, and will never submit proposals that would harm his interests. We want to be equal partners and want to have a good, long, and common road, says Yuriy Yarov, commenting on the Russian-Ukrainian summit meeting scheduled to be held in Moscow on 17 June.

Draft Agreement Prepared

LD1606150393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—A draft agreement on the disputed Black Sea Fleet has been prepared for the up-coming Russian-Ukrainian summit and President Boris Yeltsin hopes that it will be more efficient than the earlier agreement signed in Yalta.

He told reporters on Wednesday that the agreement includes the problem of Sevastopol, the major naval base of the fleet, as well as other bases on the territory of Ukraine. Yeltsin said that the summit meeting will also focus on problems of nuclear weapons and economic cooperation. Ukraine owes Russia 572.2 billion roubles for oil, gas and oil products, according to the "KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI".

On Saturday Yeltsin told reporters that the issue of Ukrainian indebtedness is linked with the Black Sea Fleet dispute. "We have closed the (oil) tap a little and some progress appeared in the fleet dispute", he said.

Concessions Viewed

MK1706095093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Portnikov report: "Yeltsin-Kravchuk: Bracing for Uneasy Conversation. What Concessions Is Kiev Prepared To Make and in Exchange for What?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The miners' strike in Ukraine has resulted in Yeltsin and Kravchuk exchanging their roles. Quite recently, the top Kiev leaders could not figure out how serious their Russian counterparts' authority was. Ruslan Khasbulatov, making his "triumph tour," did not miss Ukraine, which ignored the Interparliamentary Assembly cherished by the speaker; prime ministers kept changing... After the referendum, however, Yeltsin managed to retake the initiative, while the Ukrainian miners dealt Kravchuk a political knockdown. The Ukrainian president, like the Russian leader some time ago, found himself alone, opposed by everyone else. He has strained relations with the parliament, some deputies of which do not hesitate to make offensive diatribes against the president from the rostrum and, like their Russian counterparts, resist any attempt to limit their authority by holding a referendum on confidence in them. Nor does Leonid Kravchuk have an easy relationship with the government, which makes no bones about its desire to carry out economic reform propped up by discretionary powers. He does not have public or at least interest groups' support, either, support that Yeltsin has always relied upon in the hour of need and Kravchuk always ignored. And all of this comes at a time when the Ukrainian economy is on the verge of collapse.

It is this expectation of collapse that now enables Russia to speak with Ukraine in a tone entirely different from even a few days ago. Moscow is unlikely to have an interest in seeing its largest next-door neighbor experiencing destabilization—such destabilization may be a prelude to similar events in Russia itself, say, after President Yeltsin's definitive victory over all his opponents. And if Russia is to give a helping hand to Ukraine, it should not do so immediately, but wait until its leaders are sufficiently afraid and prepared to sacrifice some political objectives in exchange for economic assistance—this tactic for Russian-Ukrainian talks cannot be ruled out. It is also not by chance that Kiev has been sending perfectly audible signals of its readiness to make concessions. Statements by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and by Vladimir Kryzhanivskiy, Ukrainian ambassador to the Russian Federation, that the Russian Navy's leasing of a base in Sevastopol is a possibility—which was fairly recently perceived as blasphemy and as an imperial attempt to create a "Ukrainian Guantanamo"—show to what extent Ukraine's stance can be adjusted. The Russian side will have to pay for this, however, with cheap energy first of all. In this situation it is important to figure out whether the Russian Federation is able to deliver the goods and whether or not its attempt to link political problems to fuel deliveries is merely a well-chosen bluff.

Kravchuk Arrives in Moscow

LD1706081193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0747 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk wants a "just" decision of the disputed Black Sea Fleet. "I want this issue to be solved in the interests of Ukraine, in the interests of Russia, in the interests of the Crimea and with guaranteed security of our southern borders", Kravchuk said upon arrival in Moscow for the Russian-Ukrainian summit on Thursday.

He said there are difficulties in Russian-Ukrainian relations which are to be solved during the summit. "We are building our relations on a friendly basis of partnership, but there are objective and subjective difficulties. The main thing is that we have enough wisdom and dignity to solve the problems correctly", the president said.

Kravchuk said that the Ukrainian Parliament had considered the START-1 Treaty and is moving towards its ratification. "I believe the ratification will take place. We never considered Russia to be a state against which we have to possess nuclear weapons", he said.

Kravchuk and members of his delegation left from the airport on helicopters to a suburban residence of the Russian president for talks.

Former Foreign Minister, James Baker Discuss Balkans

LD1606210393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1529 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—The use of force to settle the crisis in former Yugoslavia will not yield a positive result, but can only aggravate the situation, according to former Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

The way out of the crisis should be looked for in combining the U.N. peace-keeping efforts with political activities of all interested parties, with observing the embargo on shipments of armaments and other sanctions, he told on Wednesday former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker who is on a private visit in Moscow.

Bessmertnykh, who stressed the likeliness of the position of his U.S. colleague on the problem, added that his scenario will allow to work out temporary stabilisation measures in the region and then ensure reliable guarantees for preserving peace.

Baker said that the Yugoslavian example shows the necessity of coordinating activities of the international community. He added that in contrast to the agreed policy of world powers during the Persian Gulf crisis the Yugoslav developments were negatively influenced by the absence of a single approach and inconsistent actions of several states. As an example he cited the recognition by the world community of Croatia and Slovenia which unilaterally proclaimed their independence and violated the Helsinki principles.

Defense Minister Postpones U.S. Visit

LD1606220393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Russia's defense minister, Pavel Grachev, has postponed a visit he planned to make to the United States next week for signing a new large-scale agreement on bilateral cooperation in the military sphere.

A Pentagon official has said that Pavel Grachev put off his visit for health reasons and asked for a later date. The official said he hoped the agreement would be signed later this summer or in the autumn.

Chernomyrdin To Discuss Indian Space Deal on U.S. Visit

LD1606153393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1242 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will visit the United States on June 27-29 to discuss the Russian-Indian space deal opposed by the US Administration, according to Deputy Prime Minister Alexandr Shokhin.

He told a press conference on Wednesday that the visit is "preconditioned" by the US commitment to refrain from imposing sanctions against Russian space agencies before and two months after the visit in retaliation for what the United States believes is a violation of the missile technology non-proliferation regime. Shokhin said that Russia insists on an international examination of its contract with India on shipment of a cryogenic rocket engine.

"We would like to solve this mostly political problem by a civilised way. We are not going to use the language of ultimatums and violate bilateral agreements with India", he added.

Shokhin also said that the compensation offered by the United States for breaking the deal does not suit Russia as it fails to provide guarantees of a refund of 400 million US dollars of estimated losses.

Visit in Question

PM1706085093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Viktor Chernomyrdin's Visit to the United States May Not Take Place Unless Moscow Fulfills Vancouver Accords"]

[Text] Washington—Viktor Chernomyrdin's official visit to the United States, which has already been postponed once, may not take place at all unless Moscow and Washington reach a consensus in the next three or four days on a very delicate problem which is casting a serious shadow on Russian-U.S. relations.

According to information I obtained at the end of last week, two angry messages have been sent from Washington to Moscow: one from William Clinton to Boris Yeltsin, and one from Albert Gore to Viktor Chernomyrdin. Let me remind you that the U.S. vice president and the Russian premier are cochairmen of the committee on energy and space which was set up at the Russian-U.S. summit meeting in Vancouver in April.

The messages are basically identical: Moscow is warned of the serious consequences of our failure to keep the promise which our side gave to the Americans in Vancouver, the promise to "meet the concerns" of the United States over planned deliveries of Russian rocket technology to India. Under our accord with the Indians, we intend to supply our Asian friend with not only rocket engines, but also the technology for manufacturing such engines.

As I understand it, the Americans were reconciled in principle to the fact that the rockets will be sold to India. But they are categorically opposed to the idea of the technology also going to the South Asian subcontinent, since they see this as a real threat that could lead to the exacerbation of the military-political situation both in South Asia and in the neighboring regions.

In Vancouver we promised the Americans that an acceptable solution would be found. After waiting nearly two months and seeing no real progress, Washington basically issued an ultimatum: Either you decline to supply the technology, or we bar you from spheres of scientific, technical, and commercial cooperation that would be extremely beneficial to Russia in financial terms. It was made clear that we can no longer expect our rocket launchers to be used to launch U.S. commercial payloads. According to available figures, each such launch—and a total of 12 are planned initially—would bring in between $40 million and $70 million for us.

But cooperation with America in setting up space stations could bring in even more money: Here it is a question of many billions of dollars.

The practical discussion of these and related questions of the activity of the Committee on Energy and Space is expected to be a priority item on the agenda for Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit, a visit which was formerly planned for mid-June but has now been put back to the end of the month. But if the Americans carry out their threat and bar us from space as an area of cooperation, the committee's activity will be grounded to such an extent that there will not be much point in a visit by our premier.

Well-informed sources told me that the Americans, who expect a very prompt response from Moscow to their messages, are fully prepared to impose their sanctions on us immediately.

As I understand it, there is no consensus on this problem in Moscow itself. Some high-ranking experts and politicians are convinced that if we break our accord with India and refuse to deliver the technology, it will result in losses of orders for our arms throughout the world, especially in the developing countries. Other experts and politicians, no less high-ranking, put the emhpasis on the fact that the benefit from cooperation with the Americans in the field of space will give us far more hard currency than the contract with the Indians.

Be that as it may, the problem persists, and there is virtually no time left to solve it.

President Clinton Defends Aid Package

LD1606211893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1922 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Loshchilin]

[Text] Washington, June 16 (TASS)—U.S. President Bill Clinton defended today the need to render financial support to Russian reforms. He said that the United States is directly interested in giving such aid. According to Bill Clinton, support for Russia is a very good investment for the United States, and over the long run the U.S. would make a lot of money off that as Americans would be able to set up new joint ventures and there would be more reliable guarantees for American companies.

Speaking with journalists after ending his talks with President Sam Nujoma of Namibia in the White House, the head of the American Administration rejected the arguments of those in the United States who believe that foreign aid contradicts Washington's aim to cut state spending and a gigantic deficit of the federal budget. Maintaining democracy in Russia, Bill Clinton stressed, will open new markets for U.S. companies and help reduce the costly stockpiles of nuclear weapons both in Russia and the United States. What is not in the interests of the United States, the American President emphasised, is if the process of democracy in Russia is reversed.

A fiscal 1994 foreign aid authorization bill submitted by the American Administration, provides 904 million U.S. dollars in aid for Russia and other former Soviet republics.

Although leaders of both the democratic and republican parties supported in principle "Clinton's aid package" proposed at the summit in Vancouver, its approval by the congress is not guaranteed, according to Kweisi Mfume, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. Many of us do not now how we can reconcile voting for Russian aid in June while watching urban aid die in April referring to the defeat of the administration's 16 billion U.S. dollar jobs bill, the congressman pointed out.

Yeltsin Adviser Urges Continued Nuclear Test Freeze

PM1606152593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Aleksey Yablokov, adviser to Russian president: "Russia Must Uphold Moratorium on Nuclear Tests"]

[Text] The moratorium on nuclear tests adopted by Russia, the United States, and France (and, in fact, by Britain, which conducted its tests on a site in the United States) expires 1 July 1993. "Russia was the initiator of the moratorium on nuclear tests, to which the United States and France later subscribed. We are prepared to extend our moratorium if the United States does not resume its tests," reads a statement by B. Yeltsin disseminated 4 June.

The announcement of the moratorium did not halt but exacerbated the struggle between supporters and opponents of the continuation of nuclear tests both in Russia and in other nuclear powers. I will remind you of some aspects of this dispute. Special parliamentary hearings were held in the Russian Supreme Soviet in the summer of 1992, and a group of people's deputies visited the Russian nuclear test site on Novaya Zemlya's southern island at the beginning of October 1992. On 13 October 1992 the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources completed the first stage of a state expert ecological appraisal of the site. Soon after, the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a special decision on the need to continue the state expert ecological appraisal of the Novaya Zemlya nuclear test site and advocated turning most of Novaya Zemlya into a national nature park.

At the end of 1992 the Ministry of Atomic Energy published an unprecedented review of data on the nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya, and at the beginning of this year the International Research Institute in Oslo used a detailed analysis of aerospace photographs to convincingly refute our nuclear testers' claims that there have been no serious geological changes at the test sites. Finally, an outstanding event of recent days was an appeal by a group of Russian military men directly involved in past tests, demanding that the nuclear powers completely end all tests forever.

The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons expires in 1995, and the world community will be faced full-square with the task of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons among states which are not officially members of the nuclear club. Israel, the Republic of South Africa, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Pakistan, India, and North Korea are now named among states which have their own nuclear weapons or the capability. A whole number of other countries, to say the least, has the technical potential for this. It is not hard to assume that the resumption of tests of nuclear weapons in the United States and the start of such tests in Russia (until now Russia has never conducted tests, for this was done by the USSR) will not, to put it mildly, help to strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation setup.

In recent weeks increasingly definite information has been coming out of the United States that President Clinton advocates not renewing the moratorium on nuclear explosions after 1 July this year. At the same time it is pointed out that the United States plans to conduct quite few explosions—several a year—but by 1996 it intends to end tests entirely and forever. It is clear that this stand of the U.S. President attests to tremendous pressure on him on the part of military circles. But let us recall that our nuclear weapons experts demand precisely the same thing of the Russian president (as borne out by the president's Edict No. 194 of 27 February 1992 on preparations to conduct nuclear tests in the event of the ending of the moratorium).

It turns out that both the Russian military and the U.S. military are amazingly synchronously and equally interested in the start of tests. It was possible somehow to understand this situation when our countries were rivals in the cold war and potential enemies. But now that we speak repeatedly and at the highest level of a partnership in relations between Russia and the United States, it is impossible to explain this new nuclear confrontation sensibly, from a panhuman viewpoint.

There is a simple and apparently true explanation: Tests are needed not so much to strengthen the combat might of countries as to support the nuclear sector and the associated military sector.

The chief arguments in favor of resuming nuclear tests are claims that it is necessary to check the safety of existing nuclear weapons and desirable to develop new types (including "ecologically clean" types) of nuclear weapons. Both arguments are disputed—convincingly, in my view—by opponents of the continuation of tests.

Two new aspects of the problem of nuclear tests which had not hitherto attracted proper attention have emerged very recently. The first of them concerns the ecological consequences of nuclear explosions on Novaya Zemlya. It has been shown that the reindeer which lived on Novaya Zemlya's southern island during the testing period experienced a radiation charge many times greater than those alive now, after those tests were stopped. Evidently, the radioactive gases given off during tests could have been the only source of that charge.

The second problem is purely political and also very serious. The commencement of our nuclear tests could face both Ukraine and Kazakhstan with the need to revise their "nuclear relations" with Russia.

All this attests, it seems to me, that Russia must definitely extend its moratorium on nuclear tests, thereby making an attempt to make it permanent and worldwide. This is demanded by the interests of our national security and the security of the whole world.

Sergeyev Interviewed on START II Issues

PM1606162393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 7

[Interview with Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Russian Strategic Missile Forces, by Sergey Ovsiyenko; place and date not given: "START II: Parity Is Possible and Attainable"]

[Text] [Ovsiyenko] For six months now disputes have continued over the START II treaty. It seemed that in this time it would be possible to reach a specific view of the agreement which has been signed. But no, different opinions on this problem are constantly arising. Do you personally, Igor Dmitriyevich, have doubts that the treaty will be ratified in the Russian parliament?

[Sergeyev] I believe this problem must be looked at from the following angle. I am concerned by the attitude displayed toward it by the republics of the former Union on whose territories there are still nuclear weapons. For instance, Belarus has met its commitments in full and has ratified the Lisbon protocol. Kazakhstan has ratified the treaty but not the Lisbon protocol. Ukraine has done neither, evidently counting on becoming a nuclear power.

It is not ruled out that this complex situation will affect the process of the START II Treaty's ratification in the Russian parliament. Complexities are arising not so much in Russia as beyond its borders.

[Ovsiyenko] If we return to the stance adopted by Ukraine, I want to recall the quite recent words of President Leonid Kravchuk to the effect that the republic's potential does not allow it to keep nuclear weapons on its territory.

[Sergeyev] So far it is only the president who is saying this, not the Ukrainian parliament which, in my view, is holding futile hearings on this question.

That Ukraine possesses a substantial scientific and technical potential is borne out by the following fact: On its territory (Dnepropetrovsk and Pavlograd) are two of the three plants for the production of missiles of the latest, fourth generation. In Russia there is one such plant, in Votkinsk. Ukraine used to produce the entire operational guidance and control system and targeting system...

[Ovsiyenko] In your opinion did the Ukrainian president have in mind the republic's economic potential?

[Sergeyev] Evidently, that is...

[Ovsiyenko] Nonetheless, Igor Dmitriyevich, what is your view of the Russian parliament's stance on the START II Treaty?

[Sergeyev] It seems to me that our parliament, with the aid of military and other experts, realizes that the treaty's ratification is essential. After all, under the conditions of the present economic situation it is simply impossible to restore in its full volume the production of missiles which used to be manufactured in Ukraine. But by ratifying the treaty we shall be able to achieve a certain parity with the United States.

[Ovsiyenko] The treaty's opponents justify their stance by the allegedly excessive expenditure on the fulfillment of its terms. What would you say to that?

[Sergeyev] Our institute, which studies not only the problems of Russia's missile troops but also of its strategic forces in general, has worked on about 200 versions of the START II Treaty. And what is now being discussed is the best for Russia.

[Ovsiyenko] Igor Dmitriyevich, as far as I know the troops are being set tasks for eliminating the missiles. Is that fair?

Sergeyev] You know that the strategic missile forces units lack personnel yet we are also being charged with destroying the missiles.

[Ovsiyenko] But who could do that?

[Sergeyev] I believe those ministries which created them, or enterprises of those departments. For instance, the plants of the former Ministry of Medium Machine Building could carry out the dismantling [rablokirovka] of nuclear warheads and extract the plutonium...

This is a repeat of the story of the treaty on intermediate and short range missiles when they sought "clean" methods of eliminating them but could think up nothing except the explosion of 1,000 kg of TNT under the missile. Later they decided to destroy them by the launch method but the Americans immediately set a quota—no more than 72 missiles. They were afraid we would start to develop an ABM system with these launches. We did this (however hard for us) to convince ourselves we were standing guard with reliable weapons. At exactly the appointed time without delays or disruptions the missiles were launched in the Chita region...

We shall not destroy a single missile that has not passed its guaranteed service life. It will work off the funds spent on its production and only after that will it be eliminated.

[Ovsiyenko] Since the treaty the missile forces have been mainly emphasizing the "Topol" system. Why?

[Sergeyev] These complexes accord with the terms of the treaty whereby there should not be destabilizing missile systems on the ground. Included among them are those which have MIRV's on one delivery system. Single-warhead systems are included in the relevant agreements, they do not prompt the opponent to destroy them.

[Ovsiyenko] What analogs to our present complexes do the Americans have?

[Sergeyev] The famous "Minuteman" missiles which the Americans regularly modernize. Beginning with "Minuteman 1" they have now completed the modernization of the "Minuteman-3," creating an entirely new system. This is very advantageous when a missile on alert duty is improved by degrees. As a result a missile of a previous system has new specifications for its warheads and data input systems... And that is nothing other than a new complex.

In contrast to the Americans with a persistence worthy of better application we have created new types of missiles which compared with preceding ones had small qualitative additions. But they were new missiles with a new identification number, with new Lenin and State Prize winners... We did not develop the infrastructure—the system of operational control and guidance—which undoubtedly would have provided more advantages than the creation of a new type of missile. After all, what would have been developed would have been not a single missile but an entire complex.

[Ovsiyenko] In addition to the "Topol" Russia has missile systems on rail platforms...

[Sergeyev] They are also on alert duty but the present military-political situation is such that in the view of the military command there is no need for their presence on combat patrol routes. They are at their permanent deployment locations and can be put on a combat patrol route as soon as the need arises. I should add that these missile complexes can also fulfill missions from their permanent deployment locations.

[Ovsiyenko] Does the fulfillment of alert duty tasks presuppose that we have a specific enemy?

[Sergeyev] Right now we have no permanent enemies. Previously we knew that such an enemy existed on the northern air and space salient and targeting plans against him were compiled. But now a target could appear at zero degrees and at 180, 270, and 360 degrees... Hence the demand for the appropriate weapons: They must be mobile and not only preach [as published] a massive nuclear missile strike. They must be flexible not as regards the launch plan but, for instance, in correcting the missile's flight path.

[Ovsiyenko] The military reform presupposes the creation of absolutely new Russian armed forces, on a different principled basis. What are the paths of the further development of the Strategic Missile Forces?

[Sergeyev] At the third stage of building of the Russian army strategic forces will appear which will integrate the missile forces and Air Force and Navy nuclear forces. After all, reform means optimizing the army structures.

[Ovsiyenko] It is not a case of abolishing the Strategic Missile Forces as a category of troops?

[Sergeyev] Strategic forces are being created. But on what basis is another matter. The missile forces have a developed system of operational control and a high degree of combat readiness. Perhaps that will be taken into account.

[Ovsiyenko] In the sixties the missile troops were a political cudgel with which the USSR instilled terror into potential and nonpotential enemies. What tasks now face the Strategic Missile Forces?

[Sergeyev] If we admit that our army has been depoliticized then one task remains: a high degree of combat readiness, nuclear safety, and the solution of the social problems which, as throughout the Russian army, are based on the shortage of housing for the servicemen.

Foreign Ministry 'Concerned' About Somalia Situation

LD1606183393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1530 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—Russia is deeply concerned about the worsening of the situation in Somalia, caused by an attack on the U.N. personnel, carrying out a peace-keeping mission in the country, says a statement made by the Russian Foreign Ministry on Wednesday [16 June].

"We fully support the determination of the U.N. Security Council to restore law and order in Somalia and achieve complete and efficient fulfillment of its resolutions aimed at reaching political settlement in the country," the statement said.

"Any hostile actions against the U.N. personnel, no matter wherever it is, are absolutely inadmissible and are a crime against humanity and the international community."

"Russia calls upon all Somalian sides and factions to respect agreements on a ceasefire and continue cooperation with the U.N. contingent with the aim of the realisation of its mandate in the interests of overcoming the crisis in Somalia," the statement said.

Kozyrev on International Human Rights Strategy

MK1606100093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 25, 20 Jun 93 (signed to press 15 Jun) p A7

[Article by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: "Human Rights: No—to Interference"]

[Text] The world human rights conference that opened in Vienna recently is the first such event on such a level in 25 years. Compared with 1968, the present conference is proceeding under basically new conditions. The "cold war" has ended. The collapse of totalitarianism has sharply extended the boundaries of the application of human rights. In the new world, however, a number of old threats jeopardizing them have remained; moreover, new threats are arising.

A number of countries participating in the Vienna conference, for example Iraq and some other Asian states, are putting forward a concept of two cultures in the sphere of human rights. It could be said that a certain Asian doctrine has been formulated, which, as it were, is opposed to a European concept. This doctrine stresses the special conditions of Asia, where the interests of economic development come first. When it has yielded its results, its authors maintain, then attention could be shifted to ensuring freedom of speech and other civil rights.

In fact there must be only one concept of human rights. We have every right to talk about this. Russia has paid with social backwardness for so-called "Soviet democracy" and "socialist human rights." And it has every reason to warn against any special human rights concepts for Asia or the South, setting one category of rights against another. It could be agreed that genuine democracy is easier to assert in a rich country than in a poor one. But as Russia's experience shows, when it is proposed that freedom be sacrificed to bread, in the end both are taken away. Democracy is not a luxury for the rich, but a means to achieve prosperity.

The difficulties faced by many countries in creating material guarantees for human rights are quite understandable. Here we ourselves have many outstanding problems. But the Russian Government is open to cooperation in resolving them with national and international organizations, regarding this not as interference in domestic affairs but as one of the methods of supporting reform.

Therefore, with respect to other countries, we also cannot accept references to the principle of noninterference when violation of individual rights and freedoms is involved. Especially in view of the fact that international solidarity quite often becomes the sole means of preventing the authorities of a particular country from bloody reprisals. This was the case in the former USSR. This is now happening in countries where dissent is beginning to be seen as a crime.

In my opinion, it would be the conference's major achievement if it unanimously accepts that human rights are indivisible. International obligations for their protection must be observed by all countries.

In the past people mainly had to be protected against the infringements of totalitarian regimes. Now it is victims of aggressive nationalism that need primary protection. The civilian population is being ruthlessly dragged into armed interethnic conflicts. The most advanced weapons are used against it; there have been widespread tortures, mass executions, marauding, deportations, rapes, and hostage-taking. The most obvious example is the former Yugoslavia. All of this is not merely the result of criminal actions by particular individuals but the consequences of a conscious implementation of doctrines aimed at creating "mono-ethnic states," no matter what the price.

A democracy cannot be recognized as genuine if it is created only for the "indigenous" population while representatives of ethnic minorities are either forced out of the country or placed in the position of outcasts. This is happening, for instance, in Estonia, where on the following day after its admission to the Council of Europe, a discriminatory law on local self-government was adopted while the Tallinn authorities are getting ready to forcibly evict thousands of people from their apartments with the help of police.

In his message to conference participants, President Yeltsin expressed his hope that the conference would make a contribution to the development of a common strategy of international humanitarian cooperation on the threshold of the 21st century. What could be the priority directions of this strategy?

First, it is necessary to pool efforts in fighting aggressive nationalism.

Second, comprehensive measures are needed to protect the rights of ethnic minorities. An important step along this path was the adoption of a corresponding UN declaration. Now the principles enshrined in it need to be translated into the language of legal and administrative guarantees.

Third, an emergency UN mechanism needs to be formed to deal with acute situations arising from gross and widespread violations of human rights. Russia also supports the idea of establishing the post of UN high commissioner for human rights.

Fourth, it is necessary to ensure the protection of victims of armed conflicts. In our opinion, the time has come to start forming a global system and regional systems to oversee the ensuring of their rights, including procedures for examining victims' individual complaints.

It is only in this way that the world community can approximate the goal proclaimed by the UN founders: "To ensure faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of human individuality."

Khasbulatov Leads Delegation to Black Sea Zone Assembly

LD1606181293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] A parliamentary assembly of the states situated in the Black Sea zone has opened in Turkey. The Russian delegation is headed by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov. Khasbulatov told journalists that the assembly is of great importance for the region, in which armed conflicts are taking place, since contacts between legislators can provide an alternative to solving problems by force.

Meets Turkish Foreign Minister

LD1706110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1057 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Istanbul June 17 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is staying in Turkey, met Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin on Wednesday [16 June]. During a frank talk the sides exchanged opinions on issues of bilateral relations and regional problems.

Hikmet Cetin said that Turkey was striving for a large-scale cooperation with Russia in the field of economy and politics. The Turkish Republic, he said, is developing equal relations with all countries of Central Asia without having any influence on them. The experience shows that it is very difficult to solve conflict situations in the region with Russia's and Turkey's participation. [as received] An important step has been made in settling the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh just thanks to the efforts of these two countries.

The Turkish foreign minister pointed to the necessity of top level bilalteral contacts to strengthen ties between Russia and Turkey which are playing an important role in the region.

Ruslan Khasbulatov said that Russia pays much attention and attaches great importance to the development of relations with the Turkish Republic. Turkey has gained well-deserved prestige in the world thanks to its realistic politics. Turkey serves as an example to other Moslem states. The sides spoke out in favour of more active cooperation and broadening of economic relations between the two countries.

On the same day Ruslan Khasbulatov was received by President of Turkey Suleyman Demirel.

Shokhin Hopes GATT Membership To Improve Trade

LD1606230493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent V. Sofronov] Russia intends to join GATT, Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin said at a news conference. The Russian authorities hope that this step will improve the country's position in its trade relations with the West. In the meantime, many Western countries still consider Russia a country with a non-market economy and a state system of trade, and therefore refuse to grant it most-favored-nation status. They demand, in particular, that free prices on energy resources be introduced.

Shokhin has made it clear that after the Brussels and Paris meetings of developed countries—where questions of aid to Russia were discussed—the American aid package has been finally defined. As for the European countries, their position is not yet clear. They continue to insist on special measures against Russian export goods, protecting their markets.

[Begin Shokhin recording] The European Community has not yet decided to grant a non-discriminatory status to Russia. [end recording]

Minister Outlines Plan To End Conflict in Abkhazia

LD1606132193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Russia has drafted and submitted its plan for a settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, and the all-Russian representatives connected with this process will henceforth be guided by this plan. Details from Boris Pekhovkin:

[Pekhovkin] This was announced to journalists at a news conference by Yuriy Vorobyev, first deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations. He said that a military way to resolve the Abkhaz problem does not exist. Russia proposes that the sides now cease fire and disengage their troops. After that, peacemaking forces must go into Abkhazia. Under their supervision, all the illegal armed formations operating in the region must be legalized. They must be converted either into units of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affair] or military units and must occupy the appropriate places in the barracks. The peacemaking troops in the conflict zone—possibly Russian—will become a force that can restrain extremists from both sides.

Eventually, Vorobyev believes, life will show whether Abkhazia becomes an independent state or remains part of Georgia. This should be decided by the people at a referendum. Now, however, conditions must be created so that people obtain an opportunity to freely express their wishes.

For the news service of Radio Russia, Boris Pekhovkin, from Sochi.

Kozyrev Comments on 'Successful' Austria Visit

LD1606222093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2125 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 June—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev returned to Moscow today after completing his visit to the Republic of Austria. During the visit he was received by the republic's president. He had a conversation with the country's prime minister and held talks with his Austrian counterpart.

In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Andrey Kozyrev noted that his visit to Austria had been "from the position of Russia as great power, but with the plus sign." We had to win this position on the international arena and to receive the credit of trust and agreement of other states, the minister noted. According to him, the visit was successful. Mutual desire by the sides toward developing political as well as economic partnership relations between the states was noted.

There was a coincidence of the positions on the majority of the international and regional problems that were discussed, in particular on Yugoslavia. The sides confirmed possibilities and readiness for an all-round development of traditionally friendly relations and cooperation between Russia and Austria.

Austrian President Comments

LD1606190893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1439 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Vienna June 16 TASS—Austrian President Thomas Klestil gave an interview to ITAR-TASS upon completion of the talks with the Russian foreign minister. He said that Austria was closely following processes under way in Russia and well realize Russia's role and the influence it exercises on developments not only in Europe, but on a global scale. Therefore, Russia's internal affairs are very important for all of us, the president said. During the meeting with Andrey Kozyrev the Austrian president emphasised the importance of the rights of ethnic minorities under present conditions. The Austrian president said that this topic should be one of the most important for European countries and the solution of this problem is extremely important in the context of a "post-Soviet era" both for newly independent states of the CIS and for countries of the European continent.

Klestil described Russo-Austrian relations as "very good." On behalf of Austria, he expressed gratitude to the Russian side for the recognition of the role, which Vienna can and should play in the international arena due to its geopolitical situation and historical ties with neighbours in Central Europe.

The president said that the talks with the Russian foreign minister pertained to relations within the CSCE as well. The sides unanimously agreed that a permanent secretariat of the CSCE should be set up in Vienna as soon as possible. The president said that it was important to translate corresponding decisions and resolutions into practical deeds as soon as possible. During the talks the sides touched upon the problem of the Yugoslav crisis as well.

As for bilateral relations, the president said that in his opinion, there are no problems in this sphere. During the talks the sides discussed possibilities for resolving problems of economic, trade contacts ties and cooperation. Klestil believes that Austrian entrepreneurs are ready to take part in this work. "I have expressed the hope that in October, 1993, when a summit meeting of the Council of Europe, attended by countries wishing to join the

Council, takes place, I shall have an opportunity to meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in person," the Austrian president said.

German Station To Make 'Radio Bridge' With Kaliningrad

LD1606213793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1435 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad June 16 TASS—A group of editors from the federal German radio station "Deutschlandbruk" (Cologne) will make a direct radio bridge which will link up Kaliningrad, in the far western region of Russia, with Germany for ten consecutive days.

As of June 18, German journalists together with their colleagues from the local television and radio company will report in eleven European languages on the economic and cultural life of this region, and on problems of creating and developing the "Yantar" (Amber) free economic zone there.

"We are carrying out such a grandiose action in Russia for the first time," chief of the news section, Dietrich Mueller, head of the group of journalists of the "Deutschlandbruk" radio station, told a news conference.

"We are sure that this will be of great interest to residents of Germany and the whole of Europe. Just a few years ago this idea would have been impossible because the Kaliningrad region was closed to foreigners, and this project could have been regarded as revanchist ambitions of the former proprietors of this territory. Both in the past and at present, when many international treaties legalise the inviolability of the post-war frontiers in Europe, we are proceeding from the real existing situation that the Kaliningrad region is an integral part of Russia. Therefore our everyday programmes will tell about various aspects of life of the people living here, their problems, worries and joys. Reports will also touch upon the historic past of this region, specifically the last broadcast will be devoted to great Kant. But I am reiterating that the main purpose of this radio bridge is to inform our listeners of the present state of the region and prospects for its development in future," the German radio journalist pointed out.

Production of 'Niva' With Peugeot Engine Starts

PM1606130993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 8

[Report by Valeriy Yakov: "'Niva' Adopts Peugeot Engine"]

[Text] In the city of Chekhov near Moscow the production of the diesel-engine "Niva" VAZ-21215 automobile has begun at the production and depot complex which is a branch of the "Ladaeksport" joint-stock company. The capacity of the new production facility is 10,000 vehicles a year. They are all intended for export sale.

Demand for passenger cars with diesel engines has been increasing vigorously in recent years on the world market. Considering this, the "Ladaeksport" joint-stock company in conjunction with the "AvtoVAZ" scientific and technical center decided to modernize the export "Niva," providing it with an engine from the well known French firm "Peugeot Citroen Motors." Now the updated "Niva" will have a capacity of 65 horsepower at 4,500 revolutions a minute and will consume 8.5 liters of fuel per 100 km around town.

The "Niva" will be delivered to Chekhov from Tolyatti already assembled but without the engine. In turn the engines come directly from France. Several teams of workers at 20 hoists complete the assembly of the vehicle virtually manually, partly alter its external appearance with the aid of various plastic plates, cut out a sunroof, apply the final coat of polish—and dispatch it to the Western customer. The price of the new achievement of Russian automobile construction is $12,000-$15,000. The "Ladaeksport" joint-stock company hopes that this automobile will be in demand as a reliable model tested over the years. But they can hardly count on the old "Niva" with a new engine, for all its designer stickers, becoming a trendsetter on the world market.

Western 'Bias' Leading To Increased Trade With Iran

NC1706091293 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has expressed confidence that the outlook for the expansion of Iranian-Russian relations is favorable. The Iranian president, who was speaking during his meeting yesterday with Sergey Tretyakov, who was presenting his credentials as Russian ambassador to Iran, stressed that the recent visit to Tehran by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev granted new strength to the process of expanding bilateral relations. According to Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Iranian leadership has firmly decided to continue the policy of expanding mutually beneficial relations with Russia in various fields. The Iranian president stressed that the Russian Federation is one of Iran's most important and promising trading partners and can assume a suitable position in the Iranian market. Radio Moscow commentator Sergey Viktorov writes on this:

As you can see, the Iranian president has described the outlook of Russian-Iranian relations, primarily in the field of mutual trade, as excellent. I do not think this is an exaggeration. So far Russian and Iranian sources have repeatedly stressed that the two countries enjoy extremely good capabilities for expanding their trade and economic relations for various reasons, namely because of their geographic proximity and a history of mutually beneficial trade. Moreover, we should also bear in mind the fact that most of the products manufactured in Russia and Iran do not compete with each other and therefore importing these products will not harm the national economies of either side.

Furthermore, a more [word indistinct] and intricate field of cooperation such as military-technical cooperation exists between the two countries. Both Russia, which has capabilities in this field, and Iran are interested in this field; and as we know, Iran intends to modernize its Armed Forces.

Finally, we should also mention foreign observations. The West displays an overt bias against Iran—purely for political reasons—on Iran's purchase of advanced technology and equipment. Also, despite the existence of extremely [word indistinct] views by the leaders of the West on Russia's economy, Western companies use foresight to ensure that Russian goods and technology will not seriously compete with their own products in world markets. In some cases, things go as far as the imposition of direct bias against Russian goods and services in markets that are traditionally the West's markets and this justly enrages Russian manufacturers, and recently, Russia's official bodies.

All this leads to the creation of an extremely favorable atmosphere for Iran to purchase Russia's high quality goods, technology, and services, which are often cheaper than usual and to ignore the West's practical sanctions on advanced technology and modern goods. It is possible that the Iranian president's expression of readiness to decisively continue the policy of expanding relations with Russia stemmed from these motives.

As far as we know, Moscow also views the outlook of bilateral relations between our country and Iran as favorable. Thus, we hope that new and greater strength will be injected into these relations in the near future.

Ne'Matzadeh, Russian Official Discuss Cooperation

LD1206095693 Tehran IRNA in English 0933 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 12, IRNA—Visiting Iranian Minister of Industries, Mohammad Reza Ne'Matzadeh, and Russian head of State Committee for Industrial Policies, Igor Shurtchkov, discussed ways to promote mutual industrial, trade, technological and research cooperation here Friday [11 June].

Referring to the changes in the Russian economic system, Shurtchkov said that now his country follows free economy market.

Underlining that Tehran-Moscow ties should generate jobs and guarantee both countries' interests, he said that the two countries should not confine their bilateral exchanges to import of finished products from each other's countries but pursue boosting of mutual industrial cooperations through backing their own products and markets.

On the establishment of joint economic and trade enterprises, the Russian official noted that some 6,000 foreign companies were currently engaged in business activities with Russia and welcomed Iran's investments on the area.

Ne'Matzadeh expressed pleasure over the economic liberalization in Russia and stressed that the two countries should pave the way for joint cooperation among their enterprises and remove the obstacles.

He added that Iran, due to its huge natural gas resources, was interested in development of its chemical and petrochemical industries in which Moscow could assist through transfer of its know-how.

He further called for promotion of bilateral industrial cooperation in such areas as glassware, paper and electronics industries.

Meanwhile in another meeting with the head of the Machinery Committee, Anatoliy Ogurtsov, also here on Friday, the Iranian minister said Tehran was interested in cooperation with Moscow on chemical, petrochemical, electronics and electricity fields.

Ne'Matzadeh heading an industrial delegation arrived in Moscow Friday morning. During his week-long stay here, he will meet with a number of Russian economic and industry officials and inspect several industrial centers.

Ceremony Held for Training Brigade Leaving Cuba

LD1606154493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1009 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Text] Havana June 16 TASS—Wreaths were laid on Tuesday [15 June] at the Monument to the Serviceman-Internationalist near Havana, where 63 Soviet servicemen had been buried at the beginning of the 1960s, at the start of a ceremony to pay farewell to the Russian military training brigade which leaves Cuba in accordance with the decision taken by the Soviet leadership in September 1991.

The last soldier of the Russian training brigade will soon leave the hospitable land of Cuba after a 30-year stay but we leave Cuba with a sense of fulfilled duty, Colonel Vyacheslav Bibikov, commander of the brigade, said at the ceremony. Throughout these years, the 12th training centre has been helping the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces train specialists and master up-to-date hardware and armaments, he said.

General Ulises Rosales del Toro, chief of the general staff of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces, addressed those present on behalf of the Cubans.

Having described as "decisive" the Soviet aid given to Cuba in 1962 when a Russian brigade was brought to the island, he emphasised that the presence of the brigade helped avoid an "impending" military aggression on the part of the United States.

At the same time the chief of the Cuban general staff pointed out that the decision to withdraw the brigade had been taken without a prior discussion with the Cuban side and signified a refusal to implement interstate agreements.

Having pointed out that the brigade withdrawal timetable is being followed satisfactorily, Rosales del Toro said, "We are approaching the elaboration of new forms of mutually beneficial cooperation in line with new realities."

During the ceremony, Cuban military awards were presented to a group of Russian soldiers and officers as a token of recognition of their contribution to raising the fighting efficiency of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Russians Compete To Launch West's Satellites

PM1606114093 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Jun 93 p23

[Jean-Paul Dufour article: "The Irresistible Rise of the Russian Rockets"]

[Text] The Russians arrived en masse at Le Bourget making no secret of the fact they have come here "to sell." And it will surely be no coincidence at all if the opening of the Air Show coincides with the official announcement of the conclusion of the discussions which would allow them to gain substantial access to the Western satellite launching market. Two bilateral accords negotiated with the United States and Europe respectively are due to be signed in the next few weeks. These accords, which fix tariffs and quotas for the Russians regarding the placing of Western satellites into orbit, mark the end of a round of brisk bargaining against the background of the trade war between America and Europe.

The story dates back to 9 November 1992 when the international telecommunications organization Inmarsat signed a contract for one of its satellites to be put into space by a Russian Proton launcher. This is a "first" for Moscow, which had been trying unsuccessfully for several years to gain access to the Western market by offering the services of this tried and tested launcher at rock-bottom prices. Until then the U.S. Government used to systematically counter those efforts by invoking COCOM rules to prevent the satellites (which always contain at least one piece of American "sensitive technology") from appearing on launch pads in the East. This time Washington gave the go-ahead, much to the displeasure of the Europeans, who see this as a devious maneuver to destabilize the Ariane project, which holds a 50 percent share of the civilian market in the face of competition from its American rivals Delta, Atlas, and Titan.

The concern of Arianespace is well founded: Inmarsat is paying $36 million import duty for Proton whereas the bill for the same service from Ariane is $62 million, a price which the Western launchers can scarcely go below without losing money. Rushing in to plug the gap, the U.S. firm Motorola Satellite Communications announced in February its intention to use Proton to launch (in three batches) 21 of the 70 small satellites for Iridium, its future world mobile telephone system. And finally, the U.S. firm Lockheed is signing with Khrunichev, the manufacturer of Proton, an agreement for the future sale of the Russian launcher in the United States.

In Washington's defense it should be recognized that the fall of the Berlin wall and the Russian desire to acquire a market economy made the status quo hard to justify. There had to be negotiations aimed at "damage limitation" by persuading Moscow to operate tariffs more in line with market prices. "The U.S. license for the Inmarsat contract was linked to the opening of negotiations in this sphere. President Bush and President Yeltsin reached agreement on this point during their last summit," Aleksandr Medvedchikov, assistant general director for international cooperation at the Russian Space Agency, noted.

Anxious not to offend anyone's feelings, Yuriy Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency, has proposed multilateral negotiations involving Russia, the United States, and Europe. This will not be followed up. On both sides of the Atlantic they are asserting that it is the "other" side which is keen to go it alone. "The European and U.S. sides have expressed the desire to begin by negotiating bilaterally," Mr. Medvedchikov explained with a smile. It could hardly be otherwise. Since 1985 in fact the discussions between Europe and the United States aimed at defining the "rules of good conduct" regarding space launches have been like a dialogue of the deaf. Given that Washington accuses Europe of subsidizing Arianespace, the latter regards the opening up of the U.S. federal procurement market as a precondition.

This time matters have been dealt with efficiently. The sealing of the Russian-American accord (which is to be signed before the end of June) was announced a month ago to the U.S. Congress Science, Space, and Technology Committee. The accord specifies that the services of Russia's Proton launcher cannot be offered at less than 7.5 percent below the lowest Western bid.

Telecommunications satellites, which form the vast bulk of the market, are placed in geostationary orbit, and here the Russians are given a quota of eight launches before

31 December 2000 with a maximum of two launches a year. Even if you add to that the launch of the Inmarsat satellite, this represents at least 6 percent of the market (Footnote) (In 1992 Ariane launched 11 civilian satellites: Atlas, United States, three launches, one unsuccessful; Delta, United States, five; Titan, United States, one; the U.S. shuttle, two; the Japanese H1 rocket, one; the Chinese launcher Long March, two, one unsuccessful). The launch of satellites into other orbits (like Motorola's Iridium satellites) will be examined case by case.

For his part, [EC Commissioner] Leon Brittan announced 7 June in Moscow that the European Commission and the European Space Agency [ESA] had also reached an accord. This accord is "still to be ratified by the Russian side," the European commissioner responsible for foreign economic policy explained. According to ESA Director General Jean-Marie Luton, "there are no great differences" between this accord and the U.S. one. "We did not just think in terms of defending the interests of Western Europe but also in terms of promoting partnership with Russia," Mr. Luton stressed.

Is this the end of the battle? That is not certain. "At the present moment Ariane is dominant in the sphere of geostationary orbit: Its only rival here is the Russian Proton rocket," Mr. Medvedchikov recently told industrialists in Paris. "But our very varied fleet of launchers lends itself well to other uses too." In the past the USSR had tried, also in vain, to put the Zenit, another of its rockets, on the commercial market. MZ Progress, the consortium which makes this launcher, is now Ukrainian. Its director general, Mr. Kozlov, confirmed this week in Paris that he also wants to get into the Western market and added: "It is insulting to limit us to such ridiculous quotas."

Thus new developments can be expected. Especially since a 7.5 percent discount is probably not enough to persuade clients to risk a launch in the East, which will additionally require their satellite, designed for Western launchers, to be adapted. The Russians will thus be tempted to continue their dumping practices. They have the means to do so in the short term at least: At the present rate of the ruble a Proton would be 100 times cheaper than a Western launcher!

According to Charles Bigot, managing director of Arianespace, mutual good will should prevail nevertheless: "The Russians," he said, "are aware that a market as narrow and fragile as this should not be unsettled unduly." And for a long while to come they will remain dependent on Western aid to safeguard their space industry.

Constitutional Conference

Yeltsin Addresses Plenary Session 16 Jun

LD1606144093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1202 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin to the plenary session of the Constitutional Conference in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed participants in the Constitutional Conference, today we are holding another plenary session. The Constitutional Conference has been working for 10 days. During this time the work on the new draft constitution has made significant headway. Groups are completing the examination of the draft. Literally each chapter and each article of the draft have been considered very thoroughly. The best experts in the field of law have been used to their utmost. All groups considered both the president's draft and the draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission of the Congress. As a result a number of articles from the Constitutional Commission's draft were used as a basis. There are grounds today for saying that a single and agreed new draft constitution is coming into being. Moreover, it is much better and richer than initial versions.

Comments and suggestions came in before and after our work began and are still coming in from enterprises, institutions, and organizations; from production, scientific, and other work forces; and from individual citizens and the conference participants themselves. In other words, not only all of us in the Kremlin, but also all those are really committed to adopting a draft constitution—-virtually the whole of politically active Russia—are working on the draft constitution.

The conference groups have taken upon themselves a great and complicated task of revising drastically a number of chapters in the draft constitution. The group of federal bodies has introduced amendments to the wording of articles on the president of the Russian Federation, the federal assembly, the Russian Federation government, and the judicial system.

The article on the rights and freedoms of the individual and citizen has been considerably enriched. All the main rights and freedoms envisaged in such international legal documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international treaty on civil and political rights, the international treaty on economic, social, and cultural rights, the declaration on the abolition of all forms of intolerance and discrimination for religious beliefs and personal convictions, the convention on the freedom of association and protection of the right to form organizations, and other documents, have been brought to a proper level—the constitutional level.

This article has also absorbed positive features of the draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission. At the same time, a terse and lucid style has been preserved. On the whole, the representatives of the federal power bodies at the Constitutional Conference moved away from the confrontation that they have so enjoyed demonstrating to one another during the past six months. The group made up of components of the Federation [subekty federatsii] has made important amendments to the first and second chapters, which are devoted to the bases of the constitutional system and the rights and freedoms of the individual and the citizen. At the conference, the components of the Federation made the most significant step toward eliminating differences, after the signing of the Federative Treaty. They set out that components of the Federation all have equal rights in relations with the federal power bodies. This opens up new possibilities for the development of a real Russian federalism.

The local government group, it might be said, is created anew on the basis of Chapter 8, a series of constitutional clauses on local power. Thanks to this, the revival of the ancient tradition of zemstvo [elected district council in existence in Russia 1864-1917] has become a real possibility. Consequently, citizens' participation in the resolution of public matters has also become a real possibility. These are the roots of popular representation. I am sure that our conference will be remembered later, with kind words, if it enables a strong Russian parliamentarism to develop.

Entrepreneurs and goods producers are working actively at the conference. They have contributed economic thinking—which is so needed these days—to the conference's work. Respected colleagues, the last few days have shown that however different our convictions and views might be, we can and must work together in a system of dialogue. We have succeeded in understanding the positions of the various sides better. Moreover, some of the conference participants, primarily from the parties and movements, have perhaps for the first time seen one another, not just as opponents, but also as partners. This is the first sign of a normal, multiparty system appearing in Russia.

Our main achievement is that common tasks have vanquished the spirit of confrontation. Accord is becoming more diverse. I think it is quite clear how important it is to preserve the experience of partnership that we all are acquiring here—both for Russia and for Russia's democracy. The main result of our work is that we are moving toward accord, not only on the text of the draft constitution, but on the very foundations of the Russian Federation's state structure.

The draft constitution has been examined in virtually all of the groups. There are some differences, however, in the treatment of the content of individual clauses in the draft, of some of the articles. Everything that has been done will have to be joined together, woven together, in a single draft of the new Russian constitution.

I have held a series of consultations with leaders of republics, krays, and oblasts, and with specialists. The general view at the moment is that the opinions of the groups should be amalgamated with each other. Then the main burden of the work will be taken over by the working commission, experts, and other organs of the conference.

I think that the groups preparing the constitution could also continue their work by examining the articles and chapters that have been agreed upon, without waiting for the draft as a whole.

I would also like the groups to work on the entire constitution once it has all been brought together in a single draft. For this reason, I propose that the groups meet in full session on 24-25 June in order to discuss it in detail. The working commission will operate as a conciliation commission, in accordance with the standing orders of the conference.

Let me specify at least two problems that will have to be resolved. First is the idea of self-determination. Some participants in the conference are expressing fear that, especially when combined with the idea of sovereignty, this could lead to a kind of self-determination based on the principle of matrioshki [Russian dolls that fit inside each other]. In other words, it could encourage self-determination within communities that have already opted for self-determination. Such amendments must be weighed especially carefully so that a sole correct decision that encourages stabilization is reached.

Second, the draft said that entities that have opted for local self-determination would be separate from the state. However, let us give this some thought. Can citizens of a state who have gathered together to resolve the pressing problems that face them really hive themselves off, separate from the state?

It would be incorrect to talk about the division of state bodies and local self-government bodies, because each of them is dealing with their own affairs. There are a number of other issues of this kind. I would especially like to mention two groups that we established, basing them on the results of the previous plenary session. They are the group responsible for the procedure for adopting the constitution and the group in charge of elections to Russia's new legislative body. These issues remain at the center of attention of the conference participants. They are also being actively discussed outside this conference, in the press, at political forums, in society, and in legal circles. It would be good if, while working on proposals submitted to the Constitutional Conference, these groups took into account all the best ideas regarding these issues that have formed in Russian society.

Naturally, one has to take into account the fact that the Universal Declaration on Human Rights says that the will of the people should be the foundation of the government's power. This will should be expressed in periodic and unfalsified elections. At the referendum on 25 April, the will of the Russian people unambiguously reflected the new situation. Since we are going to acquire a new constitution very soon, we must now start thinking about new parliamentary elections and especially confer on when to hold them.

The results of the work of the conciliatory commission and intersectional groups can be enshrined in three documents: a single, agreed draft of the text of the constitution; proposals regarding the procedure for adopting the constitution; and a draft law on elections to the federal assembly. These are the main guidelines for our future work on the draft constitution. A suggestion to hold a routine plenary session on 26 June has been expressed during consultations with heads of republics, krays, and oblasts. I support this suggestion. We could already examine an agreed draft constitution at the session.

It is for this reason that we need to determine today the founding principle that lies at the basis of the draft. The statement by today's plenary session of our Constitutional Conference could well become the most acceptable way. Some suggested a declaration, but that is probably too elevated. A statement is probably more suitable for a working, interim document.

Closing Remarks; Voting Results

LD1606141993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1221 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Closing remarks by President Boris Yeltsin at Constitutional Conference plenary session in Moscow—live]

[Text] You may have noticed that I did not read two paragraphs from the document which was handed to you. At today's consultations in groups, and during the discussion of this draft statement, most of the groups considered that it would be premature to include those two paragraphs in the interim statement. One will have to work very hard on the wording of those paragraphs. Well, I think I have alleviated the tension a lot of you must have felt.

As it was discussed with representatives of oblasts, krays, and republics, and as it was discussed in groups, the proposal would be not to discuss and not to open a debate on the document, but rather to vote. All our tellers are ready, their leader, Comrade Veretennikov, is ready too. Voting, then.

Would those who are for the text of the statement on the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation - as read, I stress that, would they please raise their mandates or hands. Counting under way. Six hundred people are taking part. Do you think we had better count those who are against? Fine, put down your hands. No? Both for and against? Because some might abstain. All right then, let's do it this way. Will those who are for please raise their hands. Will the tellers please count.

No break is being announced in the work of the Constitutional Conference, and a plenary session will be held at 1100 on 26 June, here. We shall try to make it the final one. We shall try to achieve this.

Now will whose who are against raise their mandates or hands. Will the tellers count please. Veretennikov, go ahead.

Will now all those who abstain raise their mandates or hands, and the tellers count.

So, 594 delegates have been registered—467, or 82 percent, have voted in favor. [loud applause]

The statement on the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation has been passed. Thank you for your cooperative, active, and prompt work. Goodbye.

Conference Adopts Declaration

LD1606135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—A majority of participants in the constitutional assembly adopted a declaration on Wednesday [16 June] on a draft new constitution of the country. The document reads:

"We, participants in the constitutional assembly, regarding Russia as a free, law-based, secular and federative state of which man, his rights and freedoms are the supreme value and considering the adoption of a new constitution as an objective necessity of our society, have agreed on the following provisions of a new Russian constitution.

Human dignity is inviolable. Nothing can serve as grounds for infringement on it.

Human rights and freedoms are inalienable and belong to everyone since birth. They are acknowledged and constitutionally guaranteed according to the universal declaration of human rights and recognised norms of international law.

All in Russia are equal before law and court. The equality of rights and freedoms is guaranteed regardless of race, sex, nationality, language, origin, place of residence, religious belief, political convictions, property and social status.

The unity of the economic space is guaranteed by inviolability of property, a free flow of goods, services and finances, protection of competition, the freedom of agreement and economic activity carried out according to legislation.

In the Russian Federation private, state and municipal property exist and are equally protected. Citizens and their associations have the right to possess land acquired according to legislation as private property. Nobody can be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

In the Russian Federation social security is guaranteed at the expense of the state in old age, in case of illness and loss of ability, loss of the breadwinner.

Activities are promoted which facilitate ecological well-being, the strengthening of health of the people.

The only source of state authority and the carrier of the state sovereignty of the Russian Federation are its multinational people.

State authority is based on the division and interaction of legislative, executive and judicial authorities.

No part of the society, no association, no private individual can usurp power in the state.

The head of the state is popularly elected president of the Russian Federation.

Executive authority is exercised by the government of the Russian Federation.

The Russian Federation - Russia - is a federative state consisting of subjects of the federation - republics, territories, regions, cities of federal importance, autonomous regions and autonomous areas.

The sovereignty of the Russian Federation as an integral and indivisible state is valid on the whole of its territory.

The state structure of the Russian Federation ensures its unity, decentralisation of authority and the right of peoples for self-determination within the Russian Federation.

In relations with federal bodies of power subjects of the federation are equal between themselves.

The division of the subjects of authority and power between the bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the subjects of the federation is based on the constitution of the Russian Federation and the federative treaty.

In Russia local self-government is acknowledged and guaranteed".

Further on Yeltsin Remarks

LD1606200493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 16 June, reporting on the second plenary session of the Constitutional Conference held in the Kremlin today, carries a report by special correspondent Georgiy Savtsov describing the work done today. He introduces a recording of Yeltsin's remarks to journalists before the session.

Yeltsin says: "Now there will be a working commission acting as a conciliatory commission, so if the groups at the Constitutional Conference suggest different wordings, it must bring them together into a single draft. Then, two inter-sectional groups will be working that must produce, first, a draft law on elections and, second, methods of adopting the constitution. The working commission and the two groups will have to do this by 26 June.

"Today, we intend to adopt my speech and, subsequently, we intend to adopt a statement concerning certain principles of the constitution, so that the working commission, the conciliation commission, finds it easier to work, having general principles, identical for all the groups."

Savtsov then describes the Constitutional Conference plenary session, noting: "Addressing the plenary sitting, Russian President Boris Yeltsin read out the text of a statement on the draft of a new constitution. This text was debated in commissions and was agreed upon. The only thing the president drew attention to was the fact that two paragraphs were missing from this text. I want to explain what these paragraphs are: The upper chamber of parliament is composed of the highest officials of the representative and executive authorities of the constituent parts of the Russian Federation. The lower chamber is elected by the citizens of the Russian Federation through a free, universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot. This was the first paragraph. The second paragraph pertains to the sovereignty of republics; the draft says that a republic is a sovereign state within the composition of the Russian Federation: a kray, oblast, a town of federal importance, an autonomous oblast, an autonomous okrug, state, or territorial entity within the composition of the Russian Federation.

"The question that arose here pertained precisely to the process whereby our constituent parts of the Federation were gaining more and more sovereignty. Well, these two bits have not been discussed in commissions. They will be debated in the course of the continuing meeting of the Constitutional Conference. As you know, it will end on 26 or 27 June with a third plenary session."

Savtsov then introduces a recording of a brief remark Yeltsin made following the plenary session in which he said, "Today we adopted a statement that sets out the main principles and, as I have already said, the working commission and the expert groups will now find it easier to work. It would be desirable for the plenary session on 26 June to be the final one. However, we will see how the work goes. It may be that the session will take not one, but two days."

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Agenda

LD1606192693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1451 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jun—In order to ensure all-around discussion of the Russian Federation draft constitution and coordination of the positions of the groups of representatives, Russian President Boris Yeltsin today issued a decree "on organizing the further work of the constitutional conference."

Under the decree, a release by the Russian president's press service notes, discussion of the Russian Federation draft constitution will be continued from 17 to 25 June with the groups of representatives in accordance with the timetables they have set for their work.

The working commission on finalizing the Russian Federation draft constitution is instructed on 25 June to submit to the Russian president the text of a draft which takes account of the proposals of the groups of representatives. A plenary session of the Constitutional Conference will held on 26 June on the results of the work on the Russian Federation draft constitution.

Yeltsin: Draft's Chances 'High'

MK1706094093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Vera Kuznetsova report under "Constitution" rubric: "A Curtailed Statement"]

[Text] Yesterday a plenary session of the constitutional conference in the Kremlin adopted a statement on the draft new constitution of the Russian Federation. Out of 594 delegates, 467 voted in favor. There were two omissions in the statement read by the president, as compared with the original text. The first related to the formation of the Federal Assembly—a parliament. The omitted paragraph said: "The upper chamber of parliament shall be formed from among the supreme officials of the representative and executive branches of Russian Federation components. The lower chamber shall be elected by citizens of the Russian Federation in free general elections by direct and secret ballot." The second paragraph concerned Russia's federative structure. It said: "A republic is a sovereign state as part of the Russian Federation. A kray, an oblast, a city under federal jurisdiction and an autonomous okrug is a state-territorial formation within the Russian Federation."

Yesterday morning several working groups voted against these paragraphs while their leaders went to the president to tell him. Therefore, for the majority of those who had come to the plenary session the same evening, it was a surprise that Boris Yeltsin did not read out two fundamental provisions on which he had earlier agreed with heads of the republics. As a result, president Ruslan Aushev of the Ingush republic and president Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan abstained from voting on the statement. Aman Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast soviet, even said, commenting on the statement for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, that he is not happy with the provision about a bicameral Federal Assembly, the method of whose formation remains unknown. Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, noted that the statement adopted by the Constitutional Conference yesterday extends the possibilities for consolidating social forces. "This statement was adopted not for internal use by the Constitutional Conference—we all know this—but precisely for those outside the Kremlin walls," Ryabov stressed. Responding to the question whether "this statement could influence the Supreme Soviet in any way in the sense of adopting a new election law," Nikolay Ryabov pointed out that the Supreme Soviet must pass this legislative act anyway. True, Ryabov said that there is a mood in parliament to postpone the new election law citing the need to adopt this law "in package" with a law on electing the president, a law on political parties, and other documents. But this "package," in Ryabov's opinion, would not be adopted any time soon while the election law is ready and could be passed today. Therefore in Ryabov's view, the chambers of the Supreme Soviet will apparently show initiative in this connection.

Boris Yeltsin described the preparation of a coordinated text of the constitution as a top priority for further work of the Constitutional Conference, which might finish with a 26 June plenary session. The president stressed that by this time (26 June) procedures should be worked out for the adoption of the Fundamental Law and a legislative act on elections to a new federal parliament. In Yeltsin's opinion, the chances of a coordinated draft's being produced are high. "Our conference will be remembered with kind words," the president summed up yesterday's plenary session.

Commission Issues Statement

LD1606232493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1820 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—Some members of the constitutional commission have made a statement addressed to Russian people's deputies, saying that "a constructive process of the constitutional conference inspires the hope that it will enable to work out coordinated documents which will make it possible to resolve the current political and constitutional crisis."

The statement said that the importance of the constitutional convention is that it unites two basic drafts of the new constitution (the presidential and the parliamentary drafts) and that these drafts no longer exist as separate documents. The matter concerns finalizing a single draft, which should include the best of the presidential and parliamentary drafts.

The signatories to the statement intend to continue work at this document and express the hope that other members of the constitutional commission and Russian people's deputies, who had been absent from the constitutional convention, would join in the work.

The statement was signed by over 30 members of the constitutional commission, taking part in the constitutional convention. The collection of signatures to this statement continues, an official of an information centre of the Russian president's administration said.

Yeltsin: Elections May Be in Autumn

LD1606145493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin hopes that the draft of a new Russian constitution is finalised by June 26, when a new session of the constitutional assembly is to be held, and that pre-term parliamentary elections are to be announced after that.

"In principle, everything is going on at such a speed now that in June we should complete the work and move further to parliamentary elections in September-October. Everything will be clear then", Yeltsin told reporters after a plenary meeting of the constitutional assembly on Wednesday.

However, he admitted that the June 26 session may not end in one day. "We shall see how the business goes. Maybe the session will last more than one day," the president said.

The president added that most problems concerned the adoption of the constitution and that there are many ways of adopting it. "I have a way of my own," he said, but did not elaborate.

Yeltsin snubbed at parliamentary attempts to hold a parallel Constitutional Conference. "It's like they are going to convene some conference in the middle of June, but I don't know which one", he said.

Conference Progress Updated

PM1706121793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 1

[Vladimir Maryukha report: "All Political Forces Can Be Reconciled in the Constitutional Conference"]

[Text] At a meeting with journalists in the Constitutional Conference press center the leaders of parties and organizations in the "New Russia" bloc expressed satisfaction that for the first time since 1918—since the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly—and on the initiative of Russia's president, representatives of the country's main political forces have an opportunity to work together.

Over 70 amendments have been introduced to the draft Constitution from the group in which representatives of parties and social movements are working. Other groups and sections are working no less intensively. The section comprising representatives of the state authorities in the Russian Federation republics, krays, and oblasts introduced an amendment under which the Russian president's term of office is limited to four years and any Russian Federation citizen between the ages of 35 and 65, resident in Russia for at least 15 years, and with no other citizenship can be elected to the post.

The mechanism for adopting the Constitution is being discussed at intersectional sittings of the working groups. However, pending its adoption it is proposed to ratify a provisional act or even a law on elections. Differences of opinion center on the problem of the basis on which to hold the elections of power structures—on laws in existence today, or independently of the old and new Constitutions. It is not impossible that the idea of an interim parliament for the transitional period, which will be allotted two years, will prevail.

The representatives of various of Russia's trade unions and trade union associations, which failed to agree their positions fully before the Constitutional Conference, are unanimous nevertheless on the basic articles of the Constitution concerning the rights of workers and the regulation of labor relations. This was announced yesterday at a press conference in the Kremlin by representatives of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the "Sotsprof" Association [Association of Socialist Trade Unions], and the mining and smelting enterprise workers trade union.

Again yesterday Oleg Rumyantsev, executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, sent a letter to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov proposing a number of measures which, in his view, will ensure the adoption of Russia's new Constitution. Rumyantsev urged the country's highest officials to overcome their differences of opinion and to adopt what is the most important law for Russia's future. In particular, he believes that "the adoption of a single, agreed text of the draft is the most important guarantee of the new Constitution's being adopted in a lawful manner and subsequently accepted by the majority of society too." Oleg Rumyantsev proposed forming a joint working group involving presidential and Supreme Soviet representatives to complete work on preparing a single, agreed draft Constitution.

Constitutional Conference Continues Work 17 Jun

LD1706090193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jun—In accordance with the Russian president's decree, "On organizing further work of the Constitutional Conference," three commissions of the forum continue their sittings today: federal bodies of authority; subjects of the Federation; parties and public movements. The commissions of commodities producers and local self-government, which are ahead of other working groups in the pace of discussing amendments to the Basic Law, are having a break.

The working commission on finalizing the draft constitution is to submit its text to the Russian President by 25 June, before the conference's plenary sitting scheduled for 26 June.

Deputy Proposes Referendum on Constitution

LD1606144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov said a nation-wide referendum will be necessary to decide on ways of adopting the new Russian constitution "if no consensus is arrived at".

Yarov, who is the coordinator of the local self-government group at the constitutional assembly, told TASS on Wednesday [16 June] there are several ways of adopting the constitution: current legislators, the constitutional assembly, a new parliament or congress and the constitutional assembly together. "If consensus is not arrived at we shall ask the people: Who do you entrust with adopting the constitution—the Congress, the constitutional assembly or a new parliament?" he said.

Yarov, however, believes that the current Constitutional Conference which is finalising the draft constitution will "smooth contradictions with opponents and we shall arrive to a consensus on the way of adopting the constitution".

He called on the Russian parliament to "actively listen to the positions of various political forces in the constitutional process and to abandon the framework of autonomous work in parliament".

He believes this will help to reach an accord on the way of adopting the new constitution.

Deputy Prime Minister on Adoption of Constitution

LD1706051393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1122 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jun—"Adopting the law on elections is no easier than adopting the new constitution, but we are not looking for easy methods," ITAR-TASS was told today by Yuriy Yarov, Russian deputy prime minister and coordinator of the local self-government section within the constitutional conference. "We have already gone through all easy methods of adopting decisions, when voting was done on behalf of us and citizens only approved," the deputy prime minister believes. Therefore, in his view, for adopting the constitution and the law on elections there are many methods: the present corps of deputies, a Constituent Assembly, a new parliament or the congress and constitutional conference together. "If a consensus is not found, we will ask the people: to whom do you entrust the adoption of the Constitution—the Congress, a constituent assembly, or a new parliament?" This is how Yuriy Yarov formulated the way out of the impasse.

In his view, drawing up an agreed text of the fundamental law will smooth over disagreements with opponents and then "we will be approaching consensus in the matter of adopting the Constitution."

Yuriy Yarov believes the law on elections will be examined at the constitutional conference after the intersectional group has worked on the text and submitted it for examination by the commissions.

In the deputy prime minister's view, it is more logical to initially adopt the constitution, then the basis will be clear which can be used for holding elections for the new parliament. If the adoption of the fundamental law is dragged out, then, Yuriy Yarov assumes, it is necessary, after having exhausted all methods, to put into operation the law on elections of the federal assembly, which will adopt the constitution.

The coordinator of the section expressed the wish that the Supreme Soviet "should listen more vigorously to the positions of the various political forces in the constitutional process and go beyond the framework of autonomous work in parliament." It is only in this way, he believes, that accord can be achieved on the adoption of the constitution.

Activists of the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia (PCDOR) are speaking out in support of a constituent assembly "as the sole legitimate organ for the adoption of the constitution." Speaking on behalf of PCDOR at the conference in the Kremlin, Marina Kudimova stated that the supporters of this committee, which is made up of 90 organizations, trade unions, and creative associations, intend to hold trilateral talks between parties, deputies, and components of the federation for drawing up a constitutional agreement on the mechanism of adopting the fundamental law or a provisional constitutional act.

Yeltsin Constitution Will Allow 'Ultraextremist Figures'

PM1706103193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 2

[Article by Academician Gennadiy Osipov, director of the Sociopolitical Research Institute: "Back to the Future"]

[Text] Contrary to the assurances of the Russian president's supporters, the recent referendum in Russia did not resolve the political confrontation in the country but merely dramatically exacerbated it. The main issue, the one which will ultimately point the way toward consensus or civil war—the question of the adoption of the new constitution—remains open. This has been particularly evident during the work of the Constitutional Conference.

People will know that 60-70 percent of the two versions of the new Russian Federation Constitution—the Russian president's and the Constitutional Commission's—present virtually no differences. The main divergence of principle is over the question of the distribution of power.

The "Yeltsin" version is somewhat reminiscent of the French Constitution, concentrating absolute executive power in the president; the "Rumyantsev" version lays stress on parliamentary supervision of the executive. It can be forecast with a sufficient degree of certainty that, if the presidential version of the constitution is adopted, a dictatorship awaits the country in the more or less distant future redolent of the political system of constitutional monarchy in terms of detail and form. Along with the further disintegration of Russia. However, the parliament's version, prepared by the Constitutional Commission, will in its present, unfinalized form lead to a power vacuum and anarchy. That too is tantamount to the disintegration of the country.

You should not when analyzing the political situation in Russia reduce the political realities merely to the confrontation between two politicians—Yeltsin and Khasbulatov. Much deeper phenomena are involved—the attitude to ownership, the mechanism for socioeconomic and political reform of the country, the understanding of the place of the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities in this dramatic process, and the role of the law in Russia's future.

It is possible to regard Boris Yeltsin very favorably and have great confidence in him. Moreover, it is possible to be absolutely sure that he is not seeking nor will seek the role of dictator or constitutional monarch. But you cannot disregard either the fact that the personal political struggle will begin only after the adoption of the president's version of the Russian Federation Constitution.

I have no absolute certainty today that Boris Yeltsin will be reelected president under this constitution. There are already many clear and potential aspirants to this post from among his entourage and the opposition. But the main problem lies elsewhere: The president's version of the constitution suits ultraextremist figures.

"Shock therapy" methods have proved ineffective in reforming Russian society. The country is on the brink of disintegration and, with the president's constitution, absolute power will ensue. Legal anarchy was essential to facilitate the plundering and destruction of our people's property, and harsh dictatorship will be essential to uphold the declared economic positions. And there can be no alternative in those conditions.

The threat to peace and democracy in Russia does really exist. Revolutionary traditions and stereotypes of the past are again tormenting the present.

Salvation lies elsewhere: It is necessary gradually to introduce Russia into the system of normative democracy, with a government formed by the president but ratified by and accountable to parliament, with a president and parliament collaborating in their daily work, as happens in the United States, Britain, and other countries. And here perhaps the current constitution of the transitional period will prove more suitable for the unsettled processes under way in society.

Yeltsin Seeking Wider Role for Conference

PM1606135993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova article: "President Holds Initiative Today"]

[Text] Having said that of the four well-known methods for adopting a new constitution he prefers the fifth, Boris Yeltsin was reluctant to explain himself so as "not to put pressure" on participants in the Constitutional Conference, who, he hopes, will figure it out for themselves. We would remind you that the four methods involve the constitution being adopted by either the Congress, a referendum, a specially convened Constituent Assembly, or a new parliament. The fifth can be "deduced" on the basis of recent statements made by the president and participants in the Constitutional Conference.

Presumably it was no accident that Boris Yeltsin paid so much attention to describing the activity of the Constitutional Conference, primarily noting its participants' supreme professionalism and singling out the fact that, despite their different views, representatives of political forces are not turning the work into a political battle but are able to find constructive solutions. He has glimpsed in the work of the Constitutional Conference the shoots of future Russian parliamentarianism. Were the Supreme Soviet, he said, to work in such a professional and proper manner, "without political wrangling," Russia would have more accomplished legislation today and reforms would have gone far more rapidly.

The president may be said to see the Constitutional Conference as the "ideal" parliament which, while representing all strata of the population and diverse political views, is not opposed to but cooperates with the executive led by the president. That is, if you indulge in fantasies, you may conclude that Boris Yeltsin could entrust such a representative body not only with finalizing the text of the new fundamental law, but also adopting it.

However, it is obvious that any attempts to transform the Constitutional Conference from a consultative body into a kind of assembly or rally with constituent rights would meet with opposition from the Supreme Soviet, the Congress of People's Deputies, and a section of society. That is why an intensive quest for ways of "legalizing" the conference further is under way today. There are proposals to prolong it and make it a permanent organ on the lines of an all-Russia "roundtable." Sergey Alekseyev sees a chance of increasing the Constitutional Conference's positions by incorporating a considerable part of the corps of deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet in its work. From this stems the idea that, whereas the Constitutional Conference is not entitled to adopt a constitution, it could ratify a Declaration on the Constitution setting out the main principles of the future fundamental law. Sunday's statement by 315 people's deputies backing the draft constitution to be formulated by the Constitutional Conference is typical in this respect. Virtually all the "signatories" expressed a readiness to boycott the work of the Congress if it takes the "road of continuing confrontation." However, these votes will clearly not be enough to block the work of the Congress, especially since it can make corresponding changes to standing orders.

The Constitutional Conference's greatest "reserves" most likely reside in the representatives of the Federation components taking part in it. The president's idea of their initialing the agreed draft is still valid. If most components of the Federation were to initial it and then, as Sergey Shakhray suggested, the draft were to be approved by a majority of representative organs in the regions, the Constitutional Conference would have its status enhanced de facto even if that did not happen pro forma—as the body that expresses the will not only of "representatives" but also of the components of the Federation themselves, whose will the Congress is bound to take into consideration.

Thus, the presidential team may be expected during the Constitutional Conference recess to work on seeking support and coordinating actions with the components of the Federation. It is not only time, but the real alignment of forces that will tell whether they accept the version that has been agreed or whether they want to prolong as far as possible the advantageous period of agreeing terms. Clearly, the Federation components will back the person whose policy is the stronger and who really has the initiative. The president holds the initiative today...

Ryabov, Fedotov, Baturin Comment on Debates

MK1606121493 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 25, 16-22 Jun 93 p 1 (signed to press 15 Jun 93)

[Roundup of commentaries by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; Mikhail Fedotov, Russian Federation press and information minister; and Yuriy Baturin, presidential adviser on legal matters, under the "Constitution" rubric]

[Text] [Ryabov] Presently, the Supreme Soviet is not officially included in the list of members of the Constitutional Conference. But it must express its attitude to the draft before the congress. Not a detached attitude at that, but an attitude of a participant.

This is why I would try to put together at the closing stage a commission made up on a parity basis of Federation components, the Supreme Soviet, and the government—in order to finalize the draft and to submit it to the Constitutional Conference, which would approve this document in general and propose that the president, via the Supreme Soviet, submit it to the Congress of People's Deputies for consideration.

As for the idea of convening the Constitutional Conference on the initiative of the Supreme Soviet in July, it obviously may take place. But attended by whom? In what capacity? And for what purpose?

What I have always been warning my colleagues of is the danger of finding oneself in isolation from the constitutional process and political life. For the components of the Federation cannot shuttle from one house to another indefinitely. No one will allow them to say one thing here and something different there.

[Fedotov] The problem of merging the drafts does exist. At present, some sections are voting for amendments, others in a diametrically opposed manner. But this is what the conciliatory Constitutional Commission was set up for. It is already functioning and producing results. We have been made familiar with the first two chapters, which were drawn up on the basis of these conciliatory decisions. I would say these are very good chapters. They have solid chances of being approved at a plenary meeting.

As for the arguments that may emerge with regard to such issues as "sovereignty," the president said that the Federation Treaty was inviolable. Even if he had not said this, the Federation Treaty would have been an unsurmountable obstacle all the same. This is why the Federation Treaty should not be touched. This is a sacred cow that should be protected.

[Baturin] Whenever there is a choice between a number of adequate drafts, one may long argue which one is better, but one can also make a willful decision. But who will make it? It was not a coincidence that the president mentioned the institution of Constitutional Arbitration a couple of days ago. This is not a specialized agency. If the working commission of the Constitutional Conference is unable to choose one from a number of adequate drafts, arbitration will be convened. And if it turns out that agreeing upon the draft Constitution is impossible or that it will take a lot of time, then arbitration will decide future action. Constitutional Arbitration will make decisions on the most critical issues. And there are not so many of them—around five or six.

Political Issues

Krasavchenko Named Deputy Head of Yeltsin's Staff

LD1606172293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1607 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—Boris Yeltsin appointed legislator Sergey Krasavchenko first deputy head of the administration of the Russian president, the presidential press service said on Wednesday [16 June].

Yeltsin Circle's Plot Allegedly Targets Parliament

PM1706092393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 1

[Own Information report under the "We Await a Denial" rubric: "Who Will Be Felled by the 'Lightning Strike'?"]

[Text] At the beginning of May, in the presence of a large number of journalists, S. Shakhray described the eradication of the dyarchy as one of the main tasks. This line of thinking is being pursued persistently at Constitutional Conference sittings.

But, as it has been learned from reports which have come into the editorial office, it is possible that there is another plan for getting out of the political crisis, elaborated by a circle of people close to the president. It is a plan for the forcible removal of the Supreme Soviet. It goes something like this: Very quietly, "White House" security guards are replaced and deputies and staffers are not granted admission. According to some data, a hard-line version of the plan is also being examined under the code-name "Lightning Strike," whereby the Supreme Soviet building will be seized by forces of Security Ministry special subunits.

What comes next is even more sinister [kromeshnyeye]. The physical elimination of witnesses, including people's deputies who happen to be in the building at the time of the operation, is not ruled out. It would seem that there are plans to use toxic chemical agents during "Lightning Strike" with the subsequent replication of a Reichstag-style inferno. The operation is expected to be carried out suddenly, secretly, and quietly... It is to be conducted by special subunits for combating terrorism (in the Supreme Soviet?!), once again made up of Security Ministry subunits, and units of motorized troops and paratroopers, which prior to August 1991 were subordinate to the KGB. According to the information available, combat training for the special subunits is under way in the region of the village of Novaya in Balashikhinskiy Rayon at the training ground belonging to the Dzerzhinskiy Internal Troops Division.

If, in spite of common sense, the plan is brought to fruition, an ignominious crime will have been committed. And the thing which is most amazing is that the country's president clearly knows nothing about the hard-line version of the plan. That is why another question also arises: Could it be that the main aim presented by the plan is to use "Lightning Strike" to do away not just with the opposition in the Supreme Soviet?

Or could it be that all of this is merely rumor?

Yeltsin Greets Health Care Workers on Anniversary

LD1706090493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has congratulated medical workers on the 75th anniversary of Russia's state health service.

On 18 July, 1918, the Soviet of People's Commissars signed a provision on setting up the People's Commissariat for Health, and Nikolay Semashko became the first people's commissar for health. Russia, notes the president's message, which was circulated by his press service, has major achievements in the sphere of healthcare. Today, it is extremely important to preserve the scientific potential and material base of the health service and the ability to generate new ideas in treating people for serious illnesses.

The congratulations message contains high praise for the work of medical workers. Today, when society is faced with many acute problems, their loyalty to their professional duty and the Hippocratic oath and the desire to come to the aid of anyone who needs help are particularly valued, the message notes.

Our own information: There are over four million people working in the Russian Ministry of Health system today. The government now allocates 3.6 percent of gross national product to health care. According to international standards, however, in order to achieve an average life span of the population of 70 years, at least eight percent is required.

Shakhray Announces New Centrist Party Supporting Yeltsin

LD1706091193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0904 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray announced on Thursday [17 June] the creation of a new party called "The Party of Russian Unity and Accord" (PRES).

The party aims to establish "a socially-oriented market economy, federalism and local self-government". It will rely on regional political and economic forces, Shakhray told a press conference.

The party will advocate a strong and efficient state authority, will protect ethnic Russians abroad, express the interests of small and medium-scale businessmen, the medium strata of intelligentsia, workers and employees.

Shakhray added that his party will support the reforms of President Boris Yeltsin and will remain in the "centre of the political spectrum". In case of parliamentary elections it will join democratically-oriented blocs.

If Russian regions support the new party it will hold its founding congress in July or August, according to Shakhray.

Stankevich: Early Parliamentary Elections Likely

LD1706115793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—The idea of early parliamentary elections is "conquering the minds of more and more people" and many political forces are interested in holding pre-term elections, according to Sergey Stankevich, an aide of the Russian president.

He told a press conference on Thursday [17 June] that the conflict of interests is the less acute regarding elections and a law on elections will not affect the principles of federalism and relations between parliament and the president.

Speaking about the constitutional assembly which ended its first meeting on Wednesday, Stankevich expressed "moderate optimism" about its work and said the discussion of the draft had been delayed by a "thorough and informal approach" to amendments.

He regretted that the parliament did not join the assembly and explained it by "an instinctive mistrust of the leaders of the Supreme Soviet to presidential initiatives".

Constitutional Court Chairman Interviewed

PM1706113193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin by Yuriy Feofanov; place and date not given: "Judges in Gowns and Judges in Jackets"]

[Text] [Feofanov] The Constitutional Conference began with a scandalous incident. You left with Khasbulatov and then returned. How are we to understand you, Valeriy Dmitriyevich? If this was a gesture, then against what? The speaker was treated improperly, which does no credit to the creators of the Constitution, but in the purely legal sense I believe Ruslan Imranovich was wrong and should have respected the ruling. Did a certain dichotomy in your position not affect your impulse to leave and your subsequent decision to return? On the one hand there is a legal parliament and on the other there is the conference, with its status as yet unclear. Or were you motivated by pure impulse?

[Zorkin] I did not leave with the Supreme Soviet chairman. That inaccuracy, to put it mildly, has been printed in all the mass media. One newspaper even wrote that "Khasbulatov and Zorkin left as comrades." It really was not like that. After the speaker had left there was the incident involving the "removal" of people's deputy Yuriy Slobodkin from the auditorium. Nor did the guards "stand on ceremony" with people's deputy Yevgeniy Ambartsumov (although he is also a member of the presidential council). General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov caught it. If these "little scenes" had been shown abroad people there would probably have started wondering in what key the preparation of the constitution of the rule-of-law state was proceeding.

So should I have continued dispassionately to observe these unseemly incidents without becoming "politically or legally involved?" It was simply essential to leave to consider the situation, dissociating myself from what was happening in the auditorium. The purely moral motive given the circumstances is obvious. None of my colleagues doubted my further participation in the conference. On Monday, 7 June, together with the other judges I "continued work" at the conference but did not "return to the Kremlin."

What happened cannot give rise to any feelings other than regret. This "evil spirit" which broke loose at the opening of the Constitutional Conference should no longer hover over it.

[Feofanov] I hope so too. Your court examined the case of the abolition of the post of president of Mordovia. Last year you examined the case of the referendum in Tatarstan. The republic did not obey that decision. The former autonomous regions declared themselves sovereign and do not want to come under anyone's jurisdiction. Does that mean that the single legal area in Russia has disappeared? Should it nonetheless exist? How do you imagine all this given the present chaos as regards sovereignties? And how constructive is the Constitutional Court decision on Mordovia?

[Zorkin] What you call the chaos as regards sovereignties is also not without its cause. If in the economic field the rights of the components of the Federation were correctly combined with the rights of the federal center, I think the problems would have been 80 percent eliminated. The naked political claims of extremism, nationalism, and separatism would be left. The Federation rests on the balance of interests. The disruption of this balance gives rise to associations, on the one hand, with the imperial cudgel and, on the other, with the attempt to escape it. In this connection I recall your question about Tatarstan: "Were you drawn into it?" That is true. It was legally impossible to avoid examining it. Such is the unhappy fate of the Constitutional Court. You say that Tatarstan did not fulfill the decision. But it is nonetheless part of Russia. You cannot look at the situation with one yardstick. If we find a means of implementing the Federation Treaty we shall acquire a stable state. If not... I do not even want to mention what will happen.

[Feofanov] In passing the verdict "on Mordovia," you were guided by that principle? It is a sovereign republic, let it decide for itself?

[Zorkin] The formation of organs of power is among the republics' sovereign rights. Of course, to a certain extent: They do not have the right to destroy common principles like the separation of powers, the power of the people, and so forth. If the federative state has a republican form, a monarchy cannot be introduced in the republic. But there is a sum of rights of the republics which is inviolate for the federal authorities. And on that plane their law on the abolition of the institution of the presidency is constitutional. Now the Mordovian Constitutional Court must have its say about the procedure for introducing this law, the say as to when the post of president will no longer exist there.

[Feofanov] But is there not a problem here which goes to the federal level? The Mordovian Supreme Court instituted the post of president and abolished it. But between these two acts of parliament the people had time to elect a president. So has the people's will been violated? Does it not seem to you that this is the kind of clash in which the Constitutional Court of the Federation should have had its say? To set limits for all republican and regional politicians?

[Zorkin] As court chairman it is very easy for me to answer.

[Feofanov] And if I ask Professor Zorkin to answer? After all you are not bound by a vow of silence—the case has been examined.

[Zorkin] Here there is a question to be considered. The president was elected on the basis of the Constitution, which also binds the Supreme Soviet itself. An article of the Mordovian Constitution says that the president is elected for five years. Can the legislators themselves violate that norm. What are the legislators' motives. What did they want to do? Abolish an institution as failing to comply with the system of the separation of powers or to rid themselves of the president called Guslyannikov? During our sessions arguments were heard to the effect that Guslyannikov is bad; when Guslyannikov appeared crime began, prices moved upward, and so forth. No arguments were cited in favor of the fact that the institution of the presidency is itself harmful to the constitutional system. For such cases there is a procedure for impeaching the president. But here it has been concluded that because the pilot is bad then the aircraft is unsuitable.

Incidentally, the thread extends to federal affairs too. Let us suppose a new constitution is adopted—the problem of the congress and the president arises. Obviously there should be elections the next day. After all the people also elected the deputies for a specific term—who has the right to reduce that term?

[Feofanov] The "two first powers" have also declared their sovereignty—in vertical terms. But there is also the "fourth power." Perhaps it is illegal in strictly juridical terms but it exists as a fact. Of course, the press can be objective on condition that it is free and independent. You have made a decision, let us call it the decision "regarding television." When the Supreme Court made the decision on IZVESTIYA I called my report: "Constitutional Court Has Defended Freedom of the Press." I would be cautious about putting the same headline to the verdict "on television."

[Zorkin] I believe that the "fourth power" is entirely legitimate. Alas, we do not have it. It is roaming about, poor thing, wondering where to find the money at least to avoid perishing. That is what puts it in a humiliating position, not our verdict. The indirect bribing of the press is far more terrible than oversight councils. In the FRG, in America, and in Britain there are versions of what we call the oversight council. There it is a stabilizing factor which helps the press to remain free. You were correct in saying that the two competing powers have clashed. What are they competing for? For monopoly control of the press. The Supreme Soviet has decided to create oversight councils but their purpose was not clear from the decree. That is why we registered a state of legal uncertainty. The quarrel most likely lies ahead. It seems to me that those who believe that we have played into the hand of the Supreme Soviet or congress are deeply unfair to the Constitutional Court.

[Feofanov] The Constitutional Court is called a court not of fact but of law. But how to avoid facts in investigating a case? Obviously it is not possible to avoid politics either. The chairman of the French Constitutional Court said that it is essential to resolve political conflicts by legal means. But the law on the Constitutional Court says directly that the court does not deal with political issues. How realistic is that norm, Valeriy Dmitriyevich?

[Zorkin] I think Mr. Badinter was voicing an axiom of constitutional jurisprudence. We do not resolve political questions, we make judgments. But what does "making judgments" mean? We assess political conflicts through the prism of the law. For instance, the constitutionality of a political party, the powers of the president, or a dispute between the Federation and one of its components. Does all this not affect political relations, political power? It is important that politics should not be conducted in contradiction with the Constitution and consequently with the law. And that is what the Constitutional Court does.

[Feofanov] When it is decided in the court, when the judges are in their gowns—yes. But you mount the rostrum in a jacket and judges give interviews and speak in the press. And what about this article of the law regarding politics?

[Zorkin] Let us not get away from reality. Remember 20 March, the Eighth Congress. At the time it was said that the Constitutional Court was in the Supreme Soviet's pocket and was against the president. But the president opposed the Constitution and we could not act otherwise. Whether we did this badly or well from the technological viewpoint, so to speak, is another matter. A number of mistakes were made and as chairman I am to blame. But we nonetheless succeeded in avoiding an irreparable error. Incidentally, the Ninth Congress also went a long way when it supported impeachment. At the time I said it would be a fatal mistake if you resort to impeachment.

[Feofanov] You mentioned 20 March. But the president has not issued any document, he has merely said he will sign an edict. So were you assessing only an intention?

[Zorkin] Two things need to be amplified: The president did not say "I will sign an edict," he said "I have signed an edict." And he said this on television. Is that not a means of making an edict public? And it was not the press secretary but the head of state who said it. What is that, an intention? Suppose the court had stayed silent, everyone had stayed silent. What would have happened on Monday? After all, according to the edict with which the president threatened us not a single organ, the Constitutional Court included, would have the right to repeal the edict. If we had not acted 20 March, if the president had signed the edict, there would indeed have been an impeachment. What would have started in our society? I think that the president should see in the Constitutional Court over that issue not an enemy but rather a savior of the legal situation.

[Feofanov] I wrote that in addressing the Seventh Congress you did a great job, telling Russian citizens that there is a third power in our state. There followed a number of other political speeches by you: now for the referendum, now against it. How do you assess yourself now?

[Zorkin] If I were to say that I have always been absolutely right you would be fully entitled to take me to a psychiatrist. But is it better to observe the development of events dispassionately? To wait for an appeal to come in? The situation was such that I believed it essential to intervene. Mistakes were probably made, I can see that from the reaction of the press. Nonetheless I would not like to be called simply a politicized figure. I was moved by a feeling for preserving the constitutional system. In addition everything was done with the approval of the majority of judges. We combine radicalism with a terrible legal nihilism within the framework of the powers themselves, they have not learned to live by the law, which is why agreement is so important in elaborating the new constitution.

[Feofanov] But how to adopt it without conflict? Let us rehearse the following situation: Without the congress it is impossible to adopt a new constitution, the congress decides to keep the old one, a new congress is elected whose deputies are also reluctant to be deprived of their seats... And so on to infinity? How to get out of this circle? A referendum? It has already been suggested that three drafts be submitted—that is that the referendum be doomed to fail in advance. In preparing for my talk with you I drew a Pushkin quotation from my notes: "Unshakable order—that is the first condition for society's wellbeing. But how to reconcile this condition with the constant desire for perfection? How can this be reconciled, Valeriy Dmitriyevich?

[Zorkin] Your scenario is after all also supremely radical. Ah, the congress will not accept anything so let's have a constituent assembly instantly. Is that not radicalism?

Take the referendum. The people have given a sign to their rulers: Find a common language. I believe the Russian people have displayed the sensible empirical wisdom which is usually ascribed to Anglo-Saxon thinking. What do the regions and republics say? Let's seek consensus. Is the actual convening of the Constitutional Conference not a unique chance for a roundtable? The only thing is we must avoid insisting: "My draft must be taken as a basis," "no, mine." For instance in the president's draft the sections on human rights are worse than in the constitutional commission's draft. Or that monster in the shape of the "judicial office." What is this if not a muzzle on legal power under the guise of the unity of the system?

[Feofanov] Forgive me, I insist. What is to be done with the congress if it will not abolish itself? What agreements and roundtables? It is like squaring the circle.

[Zorkin] Even absurdity can be overcome. The congress consists of people. The deputies' corps is very diverse and there is a growing desire there for "perfection," as Pushkin put it.

[Feofanov] Let us hope so, especially as the Supreme Soviet is splitting up, the Presidium is splitting up, and it seems the Constitutional Court is too?

[Zorkin] I hope we shall overcome this. Nonetheless respect for national consensus has emerged. The referendum has taken a very broad step toward that.

[Feofanov] But Valeriy Dmitriyevich, quite authoritative people say that the referendum has destroyed everything, a mortal blow has been dealt to statehood.

[Zorkin] Do not rule that out either. It all depends on how its results are interpreted. The expression of the people's will can be used to justify confrontation and agreement. I think the lesson of the USSR's collapse has not been in vain. I hope the Federation will not collapse. Yes, there is a strong trend toward independence. But you note that even Tatarstan is within the framework of the Federation, the framework of Russia. But does that mean that we are approaching some new frontiers? When the center will not gather the lands around Russia but the lands will gather together into Russia?

[Feofanov] I was probably educated with an exaggerated attitude toward the state as a structure which... is from top to bottom, not the other way round. When Vologda Oblast says it will be a sovereign state everything in me protests.

[Zorkin] In that sense I was educated in the same way, it is all in me. But life goes on... Perhaps we have reached a frontier where the republics and regions will become the guarantors of Russia's resurrection.

Recent Yeltsin Team Actions Show 'Arbitrariness'

PM1706113993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1,2

[Commentary by Aleksey Vorobyev: "Only the President is Allowed to Walk on the Grass"]

[Text] The shock that society suffered on 5 June had an effect on the nature of many events last week. What happened in the Kremlin went too far beyond the framework of civilized political relations for us not to react to it. On the other hand, the leaders of many political parties and public movements and the majority of representatives of the legislative branch found themselves in the strange position of a chess player who has conducted a desperate battle between the black and white pieces according to strict and intelligent rules, and suddenly, at the culminating point, is hit in the face with the chessboard by his partner.

How should this be understood, and what are we supposed to do now?

It appears that during subsequent days, politicians in Moscow were still expecting the president to apologize for the behavior of his bodyguards and his frenzied supporters. To apologize as publicly as the people's deputies and the general prosecutor had been publicly humiliated. And that he would punish his bodyguards, because the guards' rudeness to the guests primarily discredits the host.

Nothing of the sort happened. A routine investigation was scheduled, although you would only need a few minutes to grasp what had happened before the very eyes of a great many people. The president, who was still in the Kremlin at that time and had apparently made the throwaway remark: "I should really apologize..." nevertheless did not apologize. Although it would seem that it would have been very easy to do so, thus straight away removing the tension which society does not need at all at present. However, such an option obviously did not form part of the presidential entourage's plans. The idea here was far richer and more far-reaching.

The Supreme Soviet also seems to have unwittingly played into its hands; it discussed the Kremlin emergency at a joint sitting and was unable to adopt a statement on the matter. You can scarcely be satisfied with the story that parliament would not toe the line of the hard-liners, who were demanding that sharp words be directed at the executive. Excessive consideration is no less damaging than radicalism here, and the stance of certain members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, for example M. Mityukov, chairman of the Committee for Legislation, who did not even see anything extraordinary in the episode, is even dangerous.

Unlike the Moscow activists who have become accustomed to many things, the representatives of the legislature in the regions dealt with this rather delicately. Observing the fight from some distance, they obtained the opportunity to assess more accurately where this kind of political lawlessness is leading. That is why during the telephone conference on Thursday, they concertedly and unequivocally expressed their nonacceptance of the line of the president's team. Their demand to convene a new Constitutional Conference under the aegis of the parliament was a reminder that the soviets in the localities are a real political force.

This rapid and concerted response forced the president to urgently look for an answer. At a meeting with members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, he seemed to admit that he had been excessive with the slogan "the soviets and democracy are incompatible." But can this be considered a fundamental review of a position? Scarcely. It is rather that the same task is still being settled: to tempt at least individual figures from the parliamentary leadership with the prospect of an imminent separate compromise and thus blow the Supreme Soviet apart from within.

What allows us to reach such a gloomy conclusion? No, it is not even the harsh attacks on the parliament in Boris Yeltsin's speech at the meeting with journalists on Independence Day. It is rather the degradation of the standards of morals and law which has in recent days been so clearly revealed.

Here are the facts. Those close to the president have been taking deputies to a country residence (in the style of the former Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] aktivs) where attempts have been made to win people over to their side with very blunt promises. Blatant haggling has been going on, and in the event of success, the deal was paid for out of the treasury again; that is, out of the taxpayer's pocket. The quiet intellectual S. Filatov has begun to check the loyalty of employees of the presidential apparatus, taking Kremlin customs back to the times of the Stalinist party purges.

To cries of freedom of speech, the right of the opposition press not just to ask questions at press conferences given by heads of the executive, but even to be present at such events has been unforgivably restricted.

On the same day, 5 June, having grossly violated all legal norms, presidential team player Ostankino Chief V. Bragin sent an armed detachment to seize the building of the RTV-Press joint stock company.

The gist of what is happening was formulated many years ago by an English gardener, who said: The crime of the person who violates the keep off the grass sign is not the crushing of the grass. It is simply that someone who has once transgressed social rules is now capable of raising his hand against the queen.

The plan of the Kremlin advisers hinges on the fact that situations such as the removal of protection from the Constitutional Court in revenge for the decision on Mordovia completely destroy any system of regulating relations in society. Little by little, citizens are being forced to get used to arbitrariness, it is being made into a natural, everyday thing.

Yes, too much has been revealed in the past few days, and every episode, even the most petty, has been forming part of the general alarming picture all too accurately. That is why the further you go the more difficult it is to believe in the good intentions of the president and his team.

I fully allow, however, that many of them dream of the happiness of their people and cherish the most noble aims. I grant that they sincerely aspire to achieve them without getting too sullied by murky intrigues and petty dirty tricks. But after all, they are not succeeding in not getting sullied!

They do not have sufficient political culture, tolerance, or skill to conduct dialogue with their opponents. The ideas are insufficiently deep or thought-out, and their programs have not been developed.

And when the Kremlin starts to perceive that its policy is leading to deadlock, then, in the absence of the aforementioned qualities, it will easily slide down into the willful methods which are very familiar from the previous practices of the party leadership.

But it is time to understand that such methods look monstrous in Russia today, and nothing can be achieved by them. The only thing that will happen is that the declared aims will be compromised once and for all and society will be plunged into a haze of immorality and general animosity.

People's Deputy Filippov for 'Professional' Parliament

PM1706085193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with People's Deputy Petr Filippov by Olga Kuchkina; place and place not stated: "A Sufitsit of Blabbermouths Nowadays, Aided by the Restriction on State Expenditure"]

[Text] Once, at a Supreme Soviet sitting, Ruslan Khasbulatov, in all-too-familiar professorial style, referred to Russian People's Deputy Petr Filippov as "young Petka." A graduate of the Leningrad Institute of Aviation Instrument Manufacturing, laboratory chief at the Kirov Plant where he developed an automated workshop management system (yet to see for himself that the aim and the means of socialism tragically contradict one another), candidate of economic sciences, founder of the St. Petersburg "Last Hope" cooperative (where the money for subsequent political activity was earned), and an organizer of the Friends of EKO [Economics and Organization of Industrial Production, Novosibirsk] Journal Club, attracted to the politics of Gaydar and Chubays (see who is to blame for everything!), P. Filippov is currently a member of the Presidential Council and leader of the analysis center of the Russian Federation Presidential Administration for Socioeconomic Policy.

His signature stands alongside a number of others beneath the "Statement on the Formation of the Preelection Association of Voters—Bloc of Reformist Forces," which has just appeared.

[Kuchkina] Why has this "Statement" been published now?

[Filippov] Because an extremely important issue is on the agenda. Namely, the need to form a professional Russian parliament. If a populist, nonprofessional parliament is returned in the process of forthcoming elections it could, by dint of its greater legitimacy, calmly put a stop to any reforms.

[Kuchkina] Efforts have therefore been concentrated on contemplating the next step after the Constitutional Conference. Is this linked with an inevitable defeat or victory for the president's team in the constitutional field?

[Filippov] We will adopt the Constitution. Whether Russia is to be a presidential republic or a presidential-parliamentary republic, the main thing is that it should be a democratic republic: Society has entered the constitutional process, and rearguard battles by supporters of the socialist constitution are doomed to failure. There are going to be elections. When we elected deputies freely for the first time in 1990, it seemed to us that we merely had to back good people for life to alter radically. It emerged that doctors, teachers, and metallurgists may indeed be good people, but that to adopt decisions on, say, the tax system it is vital to have specialist knowledge, otherwise nothing will succeed. It is tiresome, but a fact nonetheless. The remarkable deputy's journal which has appeared in your newspaper is the best illustration of this. Of course, when Gaydar says: "Esteemed People's Deputies, a budget sufitsit has been attained as a result of restricting state expenditure"...

[Kuchkina] I don't understand. I know the word deficit, plebiscite too, but sufitsit...

[Filippov] It is the opposite of deficit. A surplus of revenue over expenditure.

[Kuchkina] So why not just say that?

[Filippov] You can say that if you like. But it would be wrong for every one of the premier's speeches to turn into a campaign against illiteracy for the deputies. For once I had found a sympathetic ear... The Law on Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity and the Law on Privatization had to be written and pushed through virtually single-handed, and in each committee, in each commission there were no more than two who understood—the rest could only be offstage orators. However, we secured three-quarters of the reform in legislation. Of course, it has gaping holes, but now almost nothing gets through.

[Kuchkina] Owing to increased professionalism?

[Filippov] Owing to firm opposition.

[Kuchkina] Forthcoming elections are a concern for all parties...

[Filippov] That is so in the West. But in our country what we call parties are really diminutive entities formed around particular leaders or apparatus personnel. I can confirm this, being myself co-chairman of the Republic Party. It is more appropriate to call the parties our blocs: "Russian Unity," "Civic Union," and this democratic preelection bloc for which we urge support. The danger lies in the fact that in all these "parties" a significant role is played by the apparatus, which is not distanced from politics. I stress: in all parties. They are self-sufficient structures, where professional party men of various hues get involved in intrigues, by contrast with the party intelligentsia which deals in the strategy of reforms. We are meeting very major opposition to the idea of banking on future deputies capable of becoming professional legislators. At one political assembly I spent a long time explaining why this was necessary. The people heard me out sullenly, then they took me aside and said: You have traveled abroad, and now we want to, so we will not surrender our place to anybody.

[Kuchkina] Abroad there are parties, and abroad there are deputies capable of adopting laws professionally...

[Filippov] Abroad there are parliamentary coalitions which are formed not by those who want to be in that parliament, but by those who want to put the right people in parliament. In those countries farmers come together to ensure that their own lawyer representative sits in parliament. It is not the lawyer who goes from farm to farm pleading to be put forward, as is the case in our country. We appeal to farmers, entrepreneurs, managers of privatized enterprises: Gentlemen, you need professional deputies, otherwise the kind of laws which will be pushed through in droves will make you cry out loud. A law will be adopted to nationalize your private enterprise, and then you will kick yourselves. The whole thing is becoming a joke, in fact. A speaker takes the microphone: We are not pleased that prices are rising; the reforms should mean that prices do not go up. How? Can you suggest anything? No. Forgive me, but this is not an exchange between experts.

[Kuchkina] It reminds me of the televised exchange between Gaydar and Rutskoy. It is only a shame that nobody was watching or listening in the middle of the night. In general you lose if you argue with opponents either ineffectively or not at all. You did not even listen to Khasbulatov at the Constitutional Conference, and you immediately gave him extra points...

[Filippov] It is mob law [zakon tolpy]. The mob also sits in the chamber. Given that people have put up with insults from him time and again, it was difficult for them to restrain themselves. I do not condone it—but I understand them.

[Kuchkina] Are there many contradictory or simply bad laws which have been pushed through by today's nonprofessional deputies?

[Filippov] Many. For instance, I could cite the Law on Consumer Cooperatives, which transferred production assets built up using the shareholders' money, without compensation, to the bosses while preserving the cooperatives' monopoly power and monopoly structure and to all intents and purposes robbing the ordinary members. As a result, consumer cooperative stores in the villages are empty today. And do you know what kind of money was handed over? Over 6 billion rubles at 1990 prices.

[Kuchkina] Through stupidity?

[Filippov] Some was handed over through stupidity, some went on personal interests, and some people were simply bought.

[Kuchkina] Hence your program in the light of the upcoming elections.

[Filippov] It is an attempt to explain to people that on the one hand they must stop believing in an omnipotent power and on the other they must stop looking at the authorities as something formed independently of them. It is time to wake up. You have a real chance of creating the kind of government you need. In Mordovia I out it to a group of directors: Do you know who you are going to vote for? We have not thought about it, they said. Then do think about it, I told them: Each of you knows somebody suitable who is a lawyer, a commercial director, or an economic aide. We want to set up a Club of Candidates for People's Deputy, where the entrance fee will be either a draft law, or amendments to an existing law, or some kind of federal program, making its case to a high standard. Writing laws requires a special gift. It can be compared with trying to find experts in computer technology in the 1950's. There were none. But look at the situation now! In the same way there are no specialists in macroeconomics, the banking sphere, or the tax system as yet. The largest section of books in the university in Budapest pertains to the tax system. Here in our Lenin Library I found just two books in all. But they will appear. Books and specialists.

[Kuchkina] Is it not the case that some have already stepped into the limelight nevertheless?

[Filippov] And how! Grisha Tomchin, Yura Tal, Golubev Vitya [names inverted as published], Nikolay Sobolev, Mikhail Yulkin, Grigoryev, Volkov...

[Kuchkina] You obviously consider that you have started your election campaign. As for the dilemma over whether to back a good man or a specialist, I have long professed one particular formula, and I can see that life bears it out: professionalism is moral, in any sphere, and nonprofessionalism is not.

Civic Union Seeks Broad Centrist Coalition

PM1606125793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Feliks Babitskiy article under "Our Parties' General Lines" rubric: "Who Leads With His Left Foot?"]

[Text] See how interestingly things sometimes turn out: Civic Union, for which a rapid demise was being predicted not that long ago, is getting its second wind, if our democratic press is to be believed, while the bloc of "Democratic Left-Wingers," which dreamed of being in serious competition with it, seems to have one foot in the grave. These two facts, however, appear surprising only when taken separately. In reality they are interconnected.

Civic Union's weakness, which many people even saw as nonviability, was accounted for by the fact that this coalition, which in the eyes of observers in the capital appeared quite impressive (leaders' famous names, smart offices with electronic equipment, etc.), never had any real infrastructure in the regions. Thus, Civic Union's popularity depended entirely on the attention of the central press.

Precisely this was probably why Civic Union's ideologues developed the idea of extending their ranks by creating a new "Coalition of Centrist Forces." This is something like an ark for our whole multiparty system, which is drowning in petty squabbles, and, despite everything, it hopes to reserve for itself as many manplaces as possible at the Constitutional Conference. Experience of creating such coalitions and "roundtables" over the past two years attests that they simply do not have enough real work for more than three months (even then only in the form of joint statements and an exchange of information).

Even this, however, could prove sufficient for a further regrouping of forces and resources. The main thing that Civic Union can acquire as a result is the Socialist Party of Working People [SPWP]—the chief constituent part of the bloc of "Democratic Left-Wingers." You ask: Why is this necessary? Work it out for yourselves. Civic Union is now formed by two leading partners—the People's Party of Free Russia and the All-Russian Renewal Union. It is commonly held that the first party is one of the three largest in the country but is out of step with discipline. The statistically average "Rutskoyite" is, as a rule, a bearded intellectual "without a degree." You "will get nowhere" with such people, as the saying goes. It is no coincidence that political experts joke that Lipitskiy's and Rutskoy's party has up to 100 full members and approximately 10,000 corresponding members. The All-Russian Renewal Union is an extremely small party, consisting mainly of the VUZ [higher educational institution] party aktiv from the times of "perestroyka," an insignificant thing diluted by "red directors." There is no shortage of ideologues and other advisers there, but there is virtually no one to carry out real party building in the provinces.

This is why the SPWP is needed. It is the second largest party in Russia and has a large parliamentary faction—"Communists of Russia." But, for all that, until recently the SPWP has not acted as an independent force. It came into being in response to the president's ban on the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party, giving refuge to a countless number of middle-link professional party workers. Its parliamentary faction, although it joined the "Russian Unity" opposition bloc, was not particularly active in it. In particular, "Communists of Russia" voted at the Fifth Congress for absolutely all of Yeltsin's proposals, and at the Ninth Congress against the removal of Yeltsin and Khasbulatov. Although its press organ—LEVAYA GAZETA—is an opposition and even a mass publication, it is extremely colorless, is incapable of winning readers, and is designed only for "its own" people. In other words, the party which, until the recreation of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, was the largest in the country, was not living but surviving all this time. It resembled a mighty robot which had been temporarily turned off and left in the warehouse to await its master's return. But when this very master did return, the SPWP members were in no mood for laughter. For he was none other than G. Zyuganov. I do not think there is any need to characterize him separately. You have probably realized yourselves why the intellectual party apparatchiks who made their career under Gorbachev were thrown into a cold sweat at the very thought that they would have to go and serve Zyuganov and his supporters.

Thus our "robot" began behaving for the first time like a living being.

Feeling the ground slipping from under its feet, the SPWP leadership initiated the creation of the coalition of "Democratic Left-Wingers." This was last fall, and it was clear even then that all was not well in the new alliance. For all the other partners of the SPWP had not come into being on the debris of the CPSU but had emerged from the left-wing dissident gatherings of young intellectuals at the end of the eighties. In addition, even all together, they were smaller in size than the SPWP but would not agree to yield to it the "elder brother's" place. It is natural that the dialogue of the professional apparatchiks of the SPWP with the former "informals" was far more difficult than with their apparatchik colleagues of Civic Union. Moreover, the second option opened up the far more tempting prospect of finding a distinguished "general without an army" but, on the other hand, one "with a human face."

This spring the rapprochement between the new partners was steadily becoming increasingly open. All the recent news conferences were conducted by a "threesome"—Lipitskiy from Civic Union, Vartazarova from the SPWP, and Klochkov from the FITUR [Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia]. They also signed important statements together. But the SPWP could not openly join Civic Union. For the latter expresses the interests of state monopolies, and so it is not a comrade to "left-wingers." It will be another matter if the two blocs and also a number of organizations not belonging to either of them unite in a broader coalition based only on very general principles of respect for democracy and the law (on this basis it is possible to unite anyone with anyone in our country, given the desire to do so). Then, look, in two or three months everything superfluous will have "withered" away from it, and we will see a perfectly natural alliance between Civic Union's leaders and the mass party cadres of the SPWP—an alliance underpinned, moreover, by the support of the very large trade unions in the General Confederation of Trade Unions-FITUR system.

Obviously, the SPWP's partners in the left-centrist bloc are already conscious of this danger. At any rate, the largest of them—the Social Democratic Party—has refused to join the new coalition. At the 24 May "roundtable" session of the "Democratic Left-Wingers" the somewhat smaller parties voted in favor, probably reckoning on using the coalition as a means of self-publicity. But it is not they that count in the bloc, and they are hardly likely to get something when the time comes to "share out portfolios."

So we can already state the fact that the bloc of "Democratic Left-Wingers" has fulfilled its historic task of strengthening Civic Union's disorderly ranks, and the day is not far off when our "Moor" will be able to depart in peace.

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin Discusses Economic Issues

LD1606183193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1621 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by correspondent Ashot Nasibov; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Nasibov] You have been prime minister, chairman of the Russian Federation Government, for six months now. What, in your opinion, have you succeeded in doing during this time and what have you not succeeded in doing?

[Chernomyrdin] We have succeeded in doing something. We are not fussing about, at least. Everyone in the government at least knows what to deal with, what needs to be done. As far as things in general are concerned, of course there is nothing to boast about in particular. We all live in our country, we see our results, we see what is happening. We have not succeeded in everything that we would have liked to.

[Nasibov] What, in particular?

[Chernomyrdin] We would, of course, like more stability. In the national economy, in the first instance.

[Nasibov] In what spheres has the slump ceased? Has a slight upturn perhaps been noted in individual spheres of industry?

[Chernomyrdin] I must say that we are most alarmed, we have been most alarmed of course by machinery construction enterprises. This branch of industry, the machinery construction branch... [pauses] If you consider that our country, state was, basically, dominated by a powerful defense complex and we are of course suffering most, have suffered perhaps, because a major restructuring of this sphere is taking place.

It is not easy for any branch of industry these days. But in all branches of industry, especially the machinery construction branch and in the fuel complex, there are branches, spheres, and enterprises which are operating in a stable manner, such as the car industry. Our main task today—we need technology, processing. In the first instance, we need to regenerate the processing branch of agriculture, in the agrarian sphere that is.

We need to reprofile our industry to gear it more towards the needs of the fuel and power sector. We will not move forward without it. Nor can we now purchase everything, we cannot import everything from abroad, but we can produce all this. The essential thing now is the dismantling of state controls and demonopolization. We now need to set up small and medium businesses and we are doing that.

The government has adopted a range of decisions today to support entrepreneurship—precisely to support it. We cannot avoid this. We cannot get by without it. And today, the quicker we get through it and renew and make it possible, establish the conditions, the more profitable it will be for us. That is one thing. The second thing is privatization. I cannot say that the current speed of privatization satisfies us. No. As it happens, this is also one of the main issues. The government looked over the privatization program for 1993 literally for days and sent it back for refinement once more. This issue worries us today, and it is a worrying one. This is also an issue that the government is working on.

We are currently very worried about the issue of money relations—the situation with credits and finances, I mean the system that has now emerged. At present, it is clearly imperfect.

[Chernomyrdin] You cannot just give credits, you should give them when there is something in return. You have to give them to those who can offer something in return—this is also work for the government, but work which is not visible, which does not instantly produce a ready product today: perhaps sausages, but it is still work.

[Nasibov] What do you think, is it possible to combine tough anti-inflationary policy—a limitation on credits, with policies designed to fight the drop in production?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, we have to find the right balance here, in order to give credits while not encouraging inflationary processes, but at the same time we cannot refuse to give them altogether. That is why, as you may know—it has already been published and I have also spoken about it, including on television—that the priorities have been chosen, which was far from easy, since there are not so many different priorities—backed by the state, the government, first and foremost the country's fuel complex, our golden eggs, or the chicken which lays golden eggs, as they say, the complex which gives instant returns.

The second is first and foremost the agricultural complex, the food industry—this is also a priority. The third is the area of conversion, the whole of our defense industry, which I have already spoken about. The fourth is first and foremost science, the basic branch of science, all science—without science there is no Russia. Our country could not live without science. Finally, there is social orientation, social issues, including health care, culture, and education.

[Nasibov] To what degree can the concept of market economy to which we aspire coexist with the concept of state guarantees, for instance, the right to housing?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course, we have such a program, a program for providing housing, which we will support. We are supporting and will support it for the time being. We cannot abruptly leave everybody to fend for themselves since in our country today far from everything is unequivocal; people in this country are not equal, not everybody is well off. Most people today are indigent and we cannot leave all this to the mercy of fate. It would be too much to let the market determine who will survive in market conditions, who will earn money and build accomodations and who will not. More attention should be given to the construction of private houses but conditions are required for this so that the individual could...[pauses] If the individual has money, he should build at his own expense, but if he has no means, he can take a loan. Credit lines should be open. This is precisely a program which we are going to support, although, I repeat, it is at variance with the market.

[Nasibov] Gigantic means are required for all this?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, yes.

[Nasibov] But the current budget has a large deficit. Where will you find these means?

[Chernomyrdin] I can say that we have just held a sitting of the government. As we consider the budget, we shall still be putting out amendments in 1993 to the Supreme Soviet. Now we are already working on the budget for 1994. As for the forecast for 1993, let us say right away that the situation is extremely difficult, it is not easy at all.

Literally in two days' time—there it is, lying on my desk, the green file—we shall see how we can reduce expenditure, or increase revenue, the revenue part. We must not overstep the limits or depart from our economic policy, which we confirmed today with the Central Bank.

But our main task and the main result to which we should aspire is to reduce the level of inflation at the end of the year to 10 percent. That, simply, will be victory. Things are very difficult at the moment. It is, in fact, a matter of life and death.

Today I want to say once more: We have warned all the leaders of sectors, absolutely all—ministers and heads of committees. With each of them, we will look to see where you are spending, and where your income is. We want the one thing on the table, and the other thing on the table. In other words, what can we do without? But, once again, I am inclined to think that the revenue part is essential. We need to think about work. We need to think about production. We need to produce.

[Nasibov] Is there any connection between this and the fact that the state, incidentally, recently resumed its monopoly of the production and sale of alcoholic beverages?

[Chernomyrdin] What prompted us to that? First, of course, the lack of control that exists today. Above all, of course, there is mass poisoning: an enormous number of complaints, an enormous number of cases of people poisoning themselves with these drinks. There is no struggle. There is no struggle there, although that worries us today too. A great deal of alcohol is used today in our country. But above all, why did we take that step? To stop it. We are able to make as much as is sufficient for everyone in our country.

Second, and no less important: Travelling along any road, in any direction, you will see people at the roadside selling vodka, wine, and champagne. What is all this? Did they make it themselves? One should not use what they have produced themselves. What about taxes? No one is paying any taxes. How can that be? What sort of state is that? This is also an important issue today. So in other words, the state is able to quench everybody's thirst.

[Nasibov] The latest increase in prices for oil and oil products—what was it? Was it the freeing of prices, the liberalization or the increase of prices carried out according to an administrative order?

[Chernomyrdin] I can tell you straight off that prices for oil and oil products have been freed, but at least to some extent they are regulated by us. We do not want and we cannot have any abrupt leaps. Prices for natural gas and electricity are fully regulated by us. That is why-...[pauses] What is it like now? I have noticed that there has recently been a series of reports. People and leaders have become worried again about the doubling or tripling of prices. I think that the tripling is out of the question, but prices will go up, as they do for everything these days.

I would like to use this occasion to appeal to the agrarians. The sowing campaign is presently coming to an end. We must start preparing for harvesting. We should stock up fuel. We should deliver foodstuffs and fuel to the northern region. This is also one of the issues which worries us and we are working on it. But there won't be any sharp fluctuations, there won't be.

[Nasibov] What is the state of economic relations with the former USSR states, with the countries of the CIS? Are there any problems?

[Chernomyrdin] If I were to talk about the way things were in the past, or last year, Russia has mainly played the role of the elder brother. It was difficult. We gave out technical credits with various interest rates. We gave away printed money. In other words, we gave them everything. Maybe it is the way to work.

But times are different now. It is hard for us as well. If I grant credit to my own enterprise, or if we grant credit to our own enterprises, especially on preferential terms, interest has to be paid. In general, a lot of interest has to be paid on credit: 110 percent is current now, 120 or 150. That is a heavy interest rate. It is not easy credit. For that reason, everyone must be treated the same. In other words, there must be equal...[pauses] That is, we must, all the same, be in equal conditions. So, of course, that creates certain embarrassments, I would say, for some states. But, unfortunately, we shall not be able to work in any other way today, and we will not.

Today, more emphasis must be placed on the development of joint factories and joint enterprises. Joint-stock companies must be jointly owned. Privatization has taken place in our country today. Privatization has taken place elsewhere. Many problems have to be tackled at the enterprise level. Technologies are unified. Links are unified. Why break them up? On the contrary, they need to be strengthened. Unfortunately, not everyone understands that.

New things have now appeared: Today we created something as we jointly tackled problems in, let's say, the oil complex. All heads of governments assembled in Surgut. Similar work has been carried out at vice premier level in Kazakhstan. In other words, we proclaimed today: It is our president who today made the proposal to create an economic union. An economic one—we do not need any politics today. If there is an economic union, one can work. No one needs us today. First and foremost, we are the only ones concerned about ourselves. Nobody is waiting for us further on. No, we need to tackle this issue here, but we need to do so more bravely, more quickly.

[Nasibov] To what extent do you have to take into account political points when tackling industrial or financial issues?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, you understand, this question—if you say that I do not take it into account in my work, in our work, if you say that it would not be correct. To say that we structure our work based on political considerations alone would also not be correct. So, primarily, what? What sort of politics are we talking about? If we are saying that I cannot divorce myself from state policy, this is one of the issues where I, which we take account of in our work. The government cannot today be outside state politics. If we are talking about the work of political parties, or working, participating, taking part in the work of political parties, there, let us say, or arranging our work, falling in with some political line or another, we do not have that. Or at least, I do not take that into account in my work. This does not exist for me today.

The government today is holding the basic line, the central line, in order to move economic reform forward. This is not a matter of words or slogans. This is already-...[pauses] today, today we can change something in economic reform policy. But change the reform itself, no, deviate from it, no.

[Nasibov] But do you sometimes feel political pressure from various sides?

[Chernomyrdin] I personally, no. I can tell you now, because I told everybody right away, and I say it now, that I do not play these little games.

[Nasibov] It only remains for me to thank you for this interview.

Chernomyrdin Directs 20% Cut in Government Spending

MK1706093093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 2

[Yegor Medvedev report: "Prime Minister Directs Cut in Budget Deficit. Government Cuts Back Outlays"]

[Text] An officially circulated directive by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin calls for a more than 20-percent cut in budget appropriations. According to the directive, the ministries and agencies are supposed to submit to the government, before 17 June, their proposals on how to trim the appropriations. The Finance Ministry has been instructed to sum up these proposals and produce a bill "On Updating the Indices of the Republican Budget of the Russian Federation for 1993" providing that it cuts the budget deficit to 10 percent of GNP in June 1993 prices.

The prime minister's directive is aimed at carrying out Yeltsin's edict "On Some Measures To Curb Inflation" that—together with a memorandum on the government and the Central Bank economic policy—can be seen a go-ahead to the promised measures of rigid financial stabilization. These measures are primarily aimed at radically cutting back the state budget deficit. Proposals on improving the budget's balance were presented by the Finance Ministry to the government presidium as early as last week.

According to KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts, the realization of Viktor Chernomyrdin's directive would cut state budget outlays by nearly 3.5 trillion rubles. Budgetary expenditures could be considerably reduced in particular if there is a cut (of 1 trillion rubles) in subsidies for the coal industry—when, for example, coal prices go up 2 or 2.5 times.

On the whole, the size of budget cuts proposed in Chernomyrdin's directive is half that provided for in the technical appendix to the joint statement of the government and the Central Bank. This is evidence that the announced course of action to replace subsidies via preferential interest rates with subsidies via the budget makes the cutting of the budget deficit a formidable task for the government.

The symptoms of a more relaxed financial stabilization policy at the very outset of its implementation (the next day the draft government directive was publicized) could have prompted the decision by IMF Executive Director Michel Camdessus to defer loans under the program of credits for "systems changes."

[Article contains the following boxed text]:

Viktor Chernomyrdin Proposed

—to accept Finance Ministry proposals on an improved balance of the Russian republican budget for 1993

—ministries and agencies should present, before 17 June 1993, proposals on cutting back budgetary appropriations by at least 20 percent

—the Finance Ministry should present a bill "On Updating the Indices of the Russian Republican Budget for 1993" providing that it cuts the deficit to a level not exceeding 10 percent of GNP in prices and conditions of June 1993.

Industrial Output Down in Jan-May

LD1706074693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0650 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jun—Russia's industry produced in January-May output worth 24.3 billion rubles in current prices, which is 6.3 times more than in the same period of last year, according to a statement issued today by the republic's State Statistics Committee, to people's deputies in the White House. Commodities and manufacturing to the value of 6.2 billion were produced in May: this exceeds last year's volumes six times over.

At the same time, statistics testify that not one of the branches of industry succeeded in reaching last year's level of production, although a certain levelling out of the situation has taken shape in a number of subbranches of the fuel and chemical industry, ferrous metallurgy, and mechanical engineering. With the onset of deliveries of raw material, imports included, in April-May growth was secured in the production of cotton fabrics.

The situation in the agro-industrial complex remains difficult. Owing to unfavorable weather conditions farmers in the Urals and Siberia are behind with the sowing work. There is a big shortfall in sowing sugar beet in the main region of its production—the central black soil zone. Less fiber flax has been sown than last year. Areas under potatoes and other vegetables at agricultural enterprises to date are about one-fifth less than last year. At the same time, more spring crops have been sown on farms of 27 territories than a year ago.

Lack of Economic Program Threatens Yeltsin

PM1606153193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Sergey Chugayev article: "Constitutional Game Drags On. President Threatened with Time Trouble"]

[Text] The statement which Vice Premier S. Shakhray made at the end of last week—that a one-month break should be declared in the work of the Constitutional Conference—gives grounds for believing that the process of adopting the new constitution in Russia is dragging on.

One and one-half weeks after the Constitutional Conference started its work it is becoming perfectly obvious that it will never succeed in surmounting two obstacles, of whose existence warning was given by experts long before the start of the work of this representative forum.

Whereas there is still hope of getting around, if not resolving, the problem of contradictions between the Russian republics and the other components of the Federation or of deferring its resolution by adopting a provisional Constitutional Law—many conference participants incline this way—the second barrier, which has existed from the beginning, still seems insurmountable.

Neither leading politicians nor experts have yet given a clear answer to the chief question: Who will adopt the new constitution, and in what way?

Many people consider the most attractive idea—a referendum—unviable. Practically all sociological research shows that, if held in the summer, a referendum will not produce results—none of the drafts will gain the necessary 51 percent of the votes from the listed electorate. Thus, just two options remain for adopting the new constitution: by a Constituent Assembly or at the Congress.

R. Khasbulatov does not tire of warning that any attempts to adopt the new fundamental law by bypassing the Congress will be regarded by the soviets as an attempted coup d'etat. As the course of last week's selection conference organized by Khasbulatov showed, this idea enjoys almost universal support in the local soviets. It is sufficient to recall the statement made during the conference by a representative of Kemerovo Oblast Soviet: In March we did not recognize in our oblast the special procedure for governing the country, and the same will happen to the constitution if it is adopted other than at the Congress.

It seems that we should not cherish hopes that the Congress will decide to eliminate itself and will approve the draft of the new fundamental law proposed by the Constitutional Conference or a draft constitutional law. Even if these drafts are suddenly supported (which is unlikely) by all the components of the Federation. Calculations show that Khasbulatov and the opposition which he heads can, in any case, firmly rely on at least 300 votes from their supporters, for whom the new constitution's adoption spells political death. This will enable them to reliably block the adoption of any decision which requires a constitutional majority.

In recent days many champions of the new constitution's speediest adoption have been gambling on the statement by 315 deputies who promised to walk out of the Congress if it fails to adopt the constitution, thereby wrecking the quorum for the country's top legislative organ. But if we ask the question—What consequences might such an action have for the fate of the Congress and of parliament?—the answer will be unequivocal: none.

If 315 legislators decide to leave the sessions hall Khasbulatov will most likely simply announce a break in the work of the Congress until the fall, and the next day the Supreme Soviet will calmly continue its work. In this way the opposition will easily achieve its chief strategic goal for today—convening the Congress and having the constitution debated there not in the summer but at the end of the fall. The deputies' mood might have changed substantially by the fall.

It is known why the president's opponents are gambling on just that time of year, because no particular secret is made of it. One of the most active opposition leaders, for example, frankly admitted in a confidential conversation that his confederates' chief task is to bury the results of the referendum. The opposition believes that it will succeed in doing this by the fall. It is reckoned that the sociopolitical situation in the country will have exacerbated sharply in November as a consequence of the already announced further steep increase in the prices of energy sources and the government's inevitable steps to toughen credit and financial policy. The opposition is in fact gambling on a deterioration in the economic situation.

Objectively, such calculations can be regarded as having a basis. The government's economic strategy is still not clear. Disagreements continue within the cabinet itself.

Most importantly, parliament still has in its hands such very effective levers for influencing the economy and the financial system as the Central Bank, the Pension Fund (whose strong finances can be used both to stabilize the financial system and to spur on hyperinflation), the Medical Insurance Fund, and the Federal Property Fund. It is not that difficult for the Supreme Soviet leadership and the opposition, which are gambling on recession, to use these levers to unbalance the present unstable economic and financial situation. Precisely this latter circumstance makes it essential to take seriously information issuing from competent parliamentary sources to the effect that a further attempt to wrest the government from the president's control cannot be ruled out at the fall Congress. Or at least an attempt to restore the balance of political forces which existed on the eve of the Ninth Congress.

Two factors could contribute to the success of this undertaking. The first is the objectively inevitable prolongation of the constitutional process. The second is the government's lack of a clear-cut economic program comprehensible to everyone—which makes the government extremely vulnerable to criticism.

It is hard to rid yourself of the impression that the president's team has failed to make the most effective use of the referendum results. By concentrating their efforts on resolving the problem of adopting the new constitution—which is perfectly justified and finally helped to get the constitutional process moving—the president and his entourage seem not to have seen the real value of the opportunities which the results of the voting on the second referendum question opened up before them. It seems obvious today that the president's team should equally vigorously have formulated the concept of a new economic strategy in parallel with accelerating the constitutional process. As can be seen from recent statements by Khasbulatov and other opposition leaders, the lack of such a strategy has already been assessed as the weakest point in the system of presidential defense, against which increasingly concentrated blows are being struck. In principle, if the situation does not change, the prospect that the parliament could regain the initiative appears quite real.

For the umpteenth time the president finds himself threatened by time trouble. It seems that the most effective means of averting this threat would be to publish as soon as possible a clear-cut economic program comprehensible to everyone, whose main points could be submitted by the president as early as at the July meeting of the G-7. Then, in August, this program would have to be submitted in full along with the draft new constitution and draft constitutional law to the Congress, convened on the initiative of the president and the 315 deputies. Even if the Congress rejects the first two drafts, there is a very good chance that it will adopt the program. Essentially, the Congress cannot fail to adopt it, taking into account that reply to the second referendum question. But in order to implement this program B. Yeltsin could demand that the Central Bank, the Pension Fund, and other financial and economic structures subordinate to parliament be passed to the government's control, at least temporarily.

Only by mastering the situation in the economy will the president obtain firm guarantees that the political initiative will remain in his hands, including the possibility of stimulating the further development of the constitutional process.

Shokhin: Relations With IMF 'Give Grounds for Concern'

LD1606183993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1440 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 16 TASS—"Russia's relations with the IMF give grounds for concern," Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin said at a news conference on Wednesday [16 June]. According to Shokhin, this is connected with a statement made by the IMF executive director on a possible delay in granting Russia the first part of a system credit at the amount of 1.5 billion dollars. It was previously announced that this part of the credit should be allocated until the end of June.

The Russian vice premier said that claims are being made on the Russian side, criticising it for the failure to fulfill its commitments undertaken in a joint statement by the government and the Central Bank of Russia of May 22.

Shokhin admitted that there were discrepancies concerning the establishment of the market rate of refinancing, adding that these discrepancies were not "dramatic" at all. Shokhin said that problems connected with subsidizing coal and imports would be gradually resolved.

In this connection, Shokhin expressed the hope that the board of IMF directors would adopt a decision on the allocation of the first part of the credit at its session scheduled on July 2.

"If a resolution on this issue is postponed until September's session of the IMF board, this will be a substantial violation of the promised aid package," Shokhin said.

Services Not Ready To Cope With Mass Unemployment

PM1606155593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "Not Ready for Unemployment"]

[Text] Fedor Prokopov, leader of the Russian Federal Employment Service, has announced that there are 750,000 people officially registered as unemployed in Russia.

Only 20-25 percent of unemployed people apply to the employment service, and the real level of unemployment already constitutes 4-4.5 percent of labor resources. The threat of an upsurge in unemployment continues to exist in Russia, but neither public opinion, nor the employment service, nor administrations are ready for mass unemployment, F. Prokopov stated. At the present time there are documents in the Federal Employment Service on compensation payments to employees forced to work an incomplete working day, on supporting invalids, and on work with employees of enterprises that have been declared bankrupt.

Yeltsin Edict Aims To Cut Out Farm Policy 'Duplication'

PM1706104793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 5

["Edict of the Russian Federation President on the Russian Federal Center for Land and Agro-Industrial Reform," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated 3 June 1993]

[Text] With the aim of eliminating duplication in settling questions of the implementation of land and agro-industrial reform, **I decree** that:

1. The Russian Federal Center for Land and Agro-Industrial Reform is abolished.

2. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government will specify within one month the functions of the Russian Federation Ministry of Agriculture, the Russian Federation Committee for Land Resources and Land Use Measures, and the Russian Federation Committee for the Food and Processing Industry, and make appropriate amendments to the provisions on the aforementioned central organs of state administration.

3. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property will settle the question of the use of the complex of buildings located at No. 11 Sretenskiy Bulvar, and the property, equipment, and communications systems inside.

4. The Edict of the Russian Federation President dated 27 June 1992 "On Organizational Measures on Carrying Out Land and Agro-Industrial Reform in the Russian Federation" and the Directive of the Russian Federation President dated 27 June 1992 No. 334-rp "On Provision for the Activity of the Russian Federal Center for Land and Agro-Industrial Reform" are no longer valid.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin; 3 June 1993

No. 846

Military & Media Issues

Black Sea Fleet Commander Promoted to Admiral

LD1706123793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1105 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—On the eve of the Russian-Ukrainian summit on the disputed Black Sea Fleet Russian President Boris Yeltsin promoted Eduard Baltin, the commander of the fleet, to the rank of admiral, TASS learned from sources in the administration of the president which said a corresponding decree was signed on Wednesday.

Baltin was appointed Black Sea Fleet commander on January 15, 1993 by a joint decision of the Russian and Ukrainian presidents.

Navy Studying Prevention of Attacks by 'Foreign Pirates'

LD1606155093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Main Staff of the Russian Navy has begun work on the feasibility study for possible regular patrolling of the East China Sea and the open part of the Asian-Pacific region [as heard] in connection with increasingly frequent attacks on Russian civilian vessels by foreign pirates.

Tu-204 Profiled; Chinese Orders Sought

PM1606130793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jun 93

[By Vladimir Kulikov and Boris Antsiferov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kulikov] The Tu-204, which is built at "Aviastar" [as heard] in Ulyanovsk and is being offered to the Chinese market, is a fundamentally new phenomenon in world aircraft construction in terms of its fuel efficiency, reliability, and design. For instance, the six cockpit displays, fly-by-wire system, and powerful onboard computers allow for just a two-man crew. All these features were fully evaluated by the Chinese engineers, designers, and local airline directors who traveled on a demonstration flight over Beijing. Despite the fact that the Chinese market has traditionally bought our aircraft equipment—with around 300 Russian-made planes and helicopters currently flying in China—the competition from Boeing and Airbus is getting stiffer. In the opinion of its designers and manufacturers, the Tu-204 is an important counter in the trade rivalry with the Americans. This is also the view of Tupolev Design Bureau General Director Klimov. [Video shows V.T. Klimov, general director of the Tupolev Aviation Scientific and Technical Complex]

[Klimov] Only very-high-quality aircraft that are in practice competitive with American planes can be displayed here. That's the only way to be successful. And we hope that our plane fits the bill.

Cosmos-2251 Satellite Launched 16 Jun

LD1606162593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1545 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—An artificial earth satellite Cosmos-2251 was launched on 16 June from the Plesetsk cosmodrome by a Cosmos carrier rocket.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 100.8 minutes; apogee, 821 km; perigee, 783 km; orbital inclination, 74 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Media Chiefs Protest Ostankino's 'Strong-Arm' Methods

PM1606124793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "RTV-PRESS Journalists Thrown Onto the Street. In a Letter to the President Leading Editors Protest Against Breaches of the Law"]

[Text] As was reported in IZVESTIYA No. 105, the arbitration court upheld the "Ostankino" television and radio company leadership's action against the "RTV-Press" state joint-stock company, which had broken away from it. The court called for its decision to be implemented immediately. But the defendant had the legal right to protest, which he did.

But the "RTV-Press" building has been blockaded by the police and none of the staff is being allowed into the building. So publication of the paper SEM DNEY and the journal TV-REVYU was suspended—which is a breach of the law on the media. The Moscow Proletarskiy Rayon prosecutor's office described these actions as unlawful and notified the "Ostankino" leadership of the need to provide normal working conditions for "RTV-Press." But the prosecutor's office's notification went unheeded.

This forced the chiefs of a number of press organs to appeal to Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin.

To Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin.

Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich!

As is known, the "Ostankino" television company is involved in property litigation with RTV-Press, and arbitration courts at various levels have not yet been through all the stages of the examination of the case. Moreover, the Russian Federation State Property Committee issued instructions to the effect that RTV-Press publications are to continue to be published until the Arbitration Court makes its decision.

But the "Ostankino" leadership took strong-arm action last week as a result of which 200 journalists and other employees of RTV-Press ended up literally on the street.

We cannot help being alarmed by "Ostankino" chief Mr Bragin's methods. Not only because the opposite side is headed by Mr Yakovlev, although this fact should really be borne in mind, in view of Mr Yakovlev's authority. But chiefly because there are methods which people at the head of an enormous collective of journalists must not use when fighting for their rights, even if someone is disputing them. And these methods certainly must not be used by someone who considers himself a democrat, someone who, by definition, respects laws and the dignity of his colleagues—even if he is at loggerheads with them.

We are worried about actions that might be interpreted willy-nilly as a breach of the law on the press and an attack on the professional freedom of a group of journalists.

[Signed] I. Golembiovskiy, IZVESTIYA; V. Starkov, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY; V. Tretyakov, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA; P. Gusev, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS; A. Potapov, TRUD

The news is that the Moscow Journalists' Union leadership has proposed holding a rally of Moscow journalists on Wednesday 16 June, at 1500 hours, outside the Press and Information Ministry Building, in connection with the breach of the law on the press.

Journalists Hold Rally 16 Jun

LD1706110193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0750 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Report by Andrey Egorshev; from the Press-Ekspress program]

[Text] [Egorshev] A rally of journalists was held in Moscow on 16 June.

[Unidentified correspondent] Passions are getting heated with regard to the conflict over the division of property between the Ostankino Television and Radio Company and the RTV-Press joint-stock company. A rally gathered in the courtyard of the editorial offices of OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in support of one of the sides.

[Pavel Gutionov, member of the committee for the defense of journalists' rights] No matter how willful [Yegor] Yakovlev might be, that is absolutely no basis whatsoever for bringing the militia into the grounds of RTV-Press and driving 120 people out into the rain and snow and so on. I would like to say that our committee, the committee for the protection of freedom of speech of the Russian Union of Journalists, is gathering documents and we intend to apply to the Procuracy and initiate the start of criminal proceedings over—as our Law on the Press states—the impeding of the legal and professional activity of the journalist.

[Grigoriy Yavlinskiy] If the press starts arguing among itself with force, then this means that the authorities are unable to maintain stability and the development of democratic processes in the country.

[Aleksandr Yakovlev, co-chairman of the Movement For Democratic Reforms] What is this? An accident, an unfortunate mistake, a misunderstanding, or a conflict of details or clash of individuals? If, however, this is some kind of link in a chain of attacks against freedom of the press, then that is a different matter and it means that democratic forces, especially in the press, should give very careful thought to where they are going to be tomorrow.

Ostankino Statement on Dispute

LD1606192593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0750 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Statement by Ostankino Television and Radio Company on the dispute with RTV-Pres over publication of TV program schedules; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Some sections of the media have recently started a mass campaign against Russia's Ostankino television and radio company. Its essence is the following: using disinformation methods, to set the public against the judicial authorities and Ostankino, to facilitate a large-scale operation by a group of highly-placed persons who wish to appropriate state property belonging to the television and radio company. We are referring here to property worth about 3 billion rubles, namely 15 percent of everything Ostankino owns. The entire unscrupulous and mendacious campaign is aimed at covering this up, the official document says.

I continue to quote. There is only one version of the argument in circulation at the moment. It was offered to the mass media by Yegor Yakovlev, the president of the RTV-Press joint-stock company. Of regret is the fact that even the editors in chief of some newspapers, people who are highly regarded in society, have joined in the campaign without even trying to understand the heart of the matter. They sent a so-called address to the president of Russia. The campaign, which began as a simple dispute over ownership, is now being given an artificial, political slant, with suggestions that Ostankino is suppressing the democratic press and violating journalists' rights.

We assume that the Russian public is familiar with the position of the television and radio company aimed at supporting the course of reforms and the law on the mass media. Ostankino adopts the same approach to this dispute. The fact that the consistency of the company's policy is being ignored, so to speak, by those with whom Ostankino and its leadership used to share a common cause in defending press freedom and journalists' rights, comes as a disappointment. The Supreme Arbitration Court, which examined the company's writ on 1 June this year, recognized as invalid both the instruction on the setting-up of RTV-Press by the State Committee for Management of State Property and documents on the founding of this joint-stock company. Moreover, they were ruled invalid not from the date of the court decision, but from December of last year. In accordance with the law, the court decision is subject to immediate implementation, which is what the Russian state company Ostankino is doing.

If the actions of the company in any way affect the interests of employees of the bogus RTV-Press enterprise, their difficulties are caused by the merciless greed of the people involved in this manipulation and their attempts to cover up the personal interest they have in annexing state assets by indulging in unprincipled, propagandist speculation.

The document concludes as follows: As far as Ostankino is concerned, it will continue to be guided entirely by the law, accepting whatever the court rules. The validity of this stance is confirmed, among other things, by the fact that the chairman of the State Committee for Management of State Property, Mr. Chubays, has finally recognized the legitimacy of Ostankino's position and insisted on the establishment of a commission to close down RTV-Press. That is the end of the quote.

This is followed by the signatures of Ostankino's managers, which I am familiar with. I remind you that you have been listening to an official statement by the Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, Ostankino.

Supreme Soviet

Rutskoy Addresses 'Army Reform' Faction 16 Jun

LD1606204493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1251 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Vera Shchelkunova on news conference by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at the Army Reform faction meeting at the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 16 June, including recorded passages of Rutskoy addressing news conference]

[Text] [Announcer] As I have already reported, the Army Reform faction held a meeting today with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, whom it is nominating as a candidate for the post of Russian president. Journalists were invited to the meeting at the Russian Federation

Supreme Soviet. Our correspondent, Vera Shchelkunova, was present. Here is her report:

[Shchelkunova] Strictly speaking, of course, the subject of the meeting was supposed to be the Army and its reform. Much was, in fact, said about this, and in some detail. The vice-president drew the following conclusion: Unless we do something immediately, without delay, about the Armed Forces, we will lose them completely in two or three years.

But Rutskoy is not only a general, he is also vice president of the country. Therefore, deputies, journalists, and everybody else was interested in his views on general problems and how these views are changing. The meeting showed that Aleksandr Vladimirovich's views have not changed. Not for no reason did he preface his answer to each question by saying: I repeat what I have already said. For instance, he was asked for his assessment of the socioeconomic situation. He said: I repeat what I have already said, the death rate in Russia is twice as high as the birth rate. Social amenities in Russia have been virtually destroyed, auctioned off.

There was a question about events in Chechnya:

[Rutskoy] Almost two years ago I predicted how all this would end up. Strange as it may seem, you can now see how right I was. Once again, as a result of the tacit consent, basically, given to what happened and unprincipled actions in respect of these problems, a tragedy for an entire people has resulted. Let me tell you that the resulting clash between Ingushetiya and Ossetia is simply the continuation of the Chechen conflict, the Chechen-Ingush conflict. If the Chechen-Ingush republic had not disintegrated into two republics, if appropriate steps had been taken back in September 1991—in 1991 and 1992—we would not now be living witnesses to the consequences which we are now observing.

[Shchelkunova] In this respect I should point out that I was present here at the Supreme Soviet on that memorable evening, that autumn evening, when Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy announced that a state of emergency had been declared in Chechnya on his initiative and that troops had been sent there. Let me remind you of how events developed from there. The troops were surrounded at the airport. The entire population of Chechnya-Ingushetiya united against the Russian Army and unanimously elected Dudayev as president. What still more decisive measures is Rutskoy referring to now? This is what he failed to explain.

The next issue was the draft constitution and the Constitutional Conference convened by the president. Rutskoy said: I think that on 26 June this constitution will simply be imposed on all citizens of Russia. If it is adopted in contravention of the laws, this could result in civil clashes and civil war. Although he described the conference as a tragicomedy played out around the Constitution, Aleksandr Vladimirovich did not say exactly what was wrong with this draft of the basic law—drawn up, as it has been, by representatives of all branches and levels of power and political and public organizations.

He went on to speak about confidence in the president and the government:

[Rutskoy] Can the promises dished out by the government and the president really be put into practice? This is what I find still more amazing. Esteemed friends, I have told people: You should realize that you have been deceived yet again, and only one or two months after the referendum. This is, in fact, what is happening. The real situation is roughly as follows: All the promises which have been made about concessions, subsidies for agricultural produce, subsidies on coal, oil, gas, and so on and so forth—they will cost 15 trillion rubles altogether. This is the same as the state's entire gross national income for 1992—which came to 15.150 trillion rubles. So, the result is a complete zero. It is absolutely impossible to keep the promises which were made, because the state does not have that sort of money.

[Shchelkunova] So, the people have been deceived. There is no money. How, then, can we revive the Army without delay? How much will this cost and where is the money to come from? Aleksandr Vladimirovich countered this question of mine with one of his own: Where did proceeds from cuts in the Armed Forces, from investments in the conversion of the military-industrial complex, go to? And where have the petro-dollars gone to, and so on?

In conclusion, he said:

[Rutskoy] If one approaches these questions in a sensible way and decides on sensible priorities, one will find that the state does have the resources for this. It does have the resources to resolve the problems facing our society.

[Shchelkunova] So, are there funds or not? If they do exist, who should get them—the elderly, children and students—or the Army? I don't know what the answer is, but then I'm not vice president.

Claims Yeltsin Sanctioned Arms Transfers

LD1706061793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0530 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] The transfer of Russian weapons to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Moldova was sanctioned by the Russian president, Vice President Aleksandsr Rutskoy stated yesterday at a meeting with the Army Reform deputies group. He said he profoundly doubts that the defense minister and the foreign minister would dare to take this step. The resolution of problems of localized armed conflicts, in Rutskoy's opinion, could be helped by the creation of a committee of heads of staff of the armed forces of CIS countries.

Criticizes Army Decline, Yeltsin

PM1706111993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 4

[S. Turchenko report: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: 'We Are Up to Our Necks in the Mire...'"]

[Text] A meeting between Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and people's deputies was held at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet building yesterday on the initiative of the "Army Reform" deputies group. The vice president answered questions relating not only to the situation in the Armed Forces but also to the situation in the country.

Aleksandr Rutskoy expressed serious concern at the sharp decline in the level of Russia's defense capability. Not only formations and units but also categories of the Armed Forces are falling apart. Russia essentially has virtually no Navy. The reductions in missile troops are way out of all proportion. The Air Force and Air Defense Forces are losing skills... Five days ago there was a flagrant violation of the air border by a group of foreign military aircraft. Our Air Defense Forces fighter aircraft took off and attempted to prevent the violation. The foreign pilots did not obey the order they were given. An order to use weapons was given, but our airmen could not manage to launch an air defense rocket. This is also typical of other branches of the Armed Forces. We have nothing to defend the motherland with.

The officers themselves are unprotected too. Whereas two years ago there were 200,000 servicemen without an apartment, today there are 400,000 in Russia alone. The status of our servicemen in so called near-neighbor countries has still not been defined. The result is that mothers get back zinc coffins instead of sons.

By contrast, the Russian Army has considerably more generals than the Soviet Armed Forces did. The Russian leadership is trying to reduce the social tension in the Army by spreading generalships around, which only exacerbates the problems.

It is the generals, the vice president stressed, who constitute the most corrupt part of the Army. Some 22 criminal cases have been instituted in the Western Group of Forces alone. Ilyushenko's statement that no instances of corruption have been uncovered there, Aleksandr Rutskoy believes, was made on Yeltsin's direct instructions. A group of investigators under the leadership of Deputy General Prosecutor Nikolay Makarov is currently at work in the Western Group of Forces. It will provide a reliable assessment of the situation. The vice president criticized people's deputies for losing control over the Defense Ministry, as well as other departments.

Answering questions about the economic and political situation in the country, Aleksandr Rutskoy stated the following:

We had a chance, had the president so wished, to broaden the legitimate constitutional commission by bringing in both components of the Federation and representatives of political movements. But no, we had to have an unconstitutional constitutional conference. And it is now being proposed to give it the status of a constituent assembly. A new battlefield is being created. The question is, why? Solely in order to distract the peoples from the main questions of present-day life. Which lie in the economy and the social sphere. The social gains achieved by the country over 70 years have been utterly destroyed in two years. It will now take 10 years of creative work to reach the 1991 level from which the so-called democrats started. But you don't get creativity out of artificially inspired political slanging matches.

At the end of the meeting "Army Reform" deputies group coordinator Vitaliy Urazhtsev read out a statement on behalf of a number of parliamentary factions on the creation of a committee to prepare an election campaign for Aleksandr Rutskoy's election to the Russian Federation presidency.

Chamber of Nationalities Denounces Dudayev

LD1706115193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1112 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—The Chamber of Nationalities of the Russian parliament denounced Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev for "rude and severe violations of human rights" while dispersing a rally of the opposition and banning a confidence vote to him.

"As a result of the bloodshed there are casualties and dozens of people were wounded. People opposing authorities are being arrested. A situation of unlimited arbitrariness and violence has emerged in the republic", the chamber said in a statement on Thursday [17 June].

It appealed to federal authorities and the bodies of power of Chechnya to immediately normalise the situation in the republic. "We hope that an active position of federal and local bodies of power.., of political parties and public movements will help restore democracy and order in Chechnya", the document reads.

Regional Affairs

Chechnya's Mamadayev Comments on Moscow Visit

LD1606212393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1620 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Moscow, June 16 (TASS)—Yaragi Mamadayev, head of the government of people's confidence set up by the Chechen parliament on agreement with the opposition, regards his working visit to Moscow to be a success. He told ITAR-TASS that many urgent problems pertaining to financial and economic relations between Russia and the Chechen Republic had been resolved.

Mamadayev believes that it is impossible to take the Chechen Republic out of the crisis by traditional political means. "We should recall the experience of our wise ancestors and urgently convene meetings of all Chechen kinship communities and elect authoritative elders. They should find a way out of the crisis together with representatives of other people living in the Chechen Republic," Mamadayev said. Mamadayev fears that Russia, falling in with Dudayev's plans, might attempt to restore order in the Chechen Republic by force.

The situation in the Chechen Republic remains tense. Contradictory reports are coming from the city of Groznyy. Official sources say that the situation in the city and in the republic is fully under control by forces loyal to the president. Their opponents, including the leader of the "Gulam" public movement Mustafa Edelbiyev describes this control as "terror, promoted to the rank of a state policy" and "an arbitrariness against one's own people."

According to Edelbiyev, particular pressure is put on Chechen residents who do not belong to the aboriginal population. The Chechen people have long-standing friendship with representatives of all people. Today, ethnic feud is insinuated by Dudayev's entourage in order to provoke Russia's response and urge it to send troops to Chechnya. According to Edelbiyev, this is the way by which Dudayev, who has fully discredited himself, is going to restore his image of a fighter for freedom.

Armed Dudayev Supporters Approaching Nadterechnyy

LD1706110393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A column of armed supporters of Chechen's President Dzhokhar Dudayev, accompanied by several armored vehicles, is approaching the frontiers of Nadterechnyy Rayon, reports INTERFAX. Nadterechnyy Rayon is one of three which came out on the side of the political forces in opposition to the president of Chechnya, and the only one in which a referendum was held on 5 June, organized by the opposition. At the referendum 98 percent of those taking part opposed the institution of the presidency in the republic.

In a resolution passed at a gathering of the population of the rayon, a way out is proclaimed of the political and economic subordination to the central authorities. The leadership of the rayon sent a statement to President Dudayev, saying that any armed incursion into the territory of the rayon will be regarded as aggression. [Video shows archive footage and posters saying "Plunderers and killers should be brought to book!" "General, it is time to know honor too!" "Dudayev: You have the machine guns but Allah and truth are with us!"]

Vorkuta Miners Demand Halting Coal to Ukraine

LD1606203193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta (Republic of Komi, Northern Russia), 16 Jun (TASS)—The miners of Vorkuta are demanding that the Russian Government halt supplies of coal to Ukraine. This decision was made at a town conference, whose participants supported the demands of Ukraine's striking miners and voiced workers' solidarity with them.

Yuriy Popov, a mining machine operator at the "Yur-Shor" mine and a member of the town's workers' committee on duty, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that representatives of the workers' movement intend in the next few days to achieve the halting of supplies of Vorkuta coal to Ukraine. The miners of Vorkuta have appealed to miners of other regions of Russia and of Kazakhstan to follow their example and show workers' solidarity by stopping coal supplies to Ukraine for the period of the miners' strike.

Miners Make Demands, 'Probably' Not To Strike

PM1706093593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "Suit Against the Government"]

[Text] The Vorkuta miners intend to file a claim against the Russian Government at the Russian Federation Supreme Court. The decision to do so was adopted at a city miners' conference because the government broke the deadline for the payment of money on the basis of a wage rate agreement.

In the adopted resolution the miners demand that a minimum payment of $700 be established for mine workers, to be converted subsequently into rubles at the official rate. Other demands include fixing pensions at a level at least 70 percent of the average monthly earnings, channeling payments into the budget only after wages have been paid, etc.

At the same time, according to many participants in the conference, the indefinite strike by Vorkuta miners will most probably not take place, although no final decision has yet been taken on this.

Grenade Lands on Yekaterinburg Administration Building

PM1606133193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 8

[Report by Aleksandr Pashkov: "Grenade Attack on Former Obkom"]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—On the threshold of the Russian independence holiday, unknown persons fired from a "Mukha" grenade thrower at the oblast administration building which used to house the party obkom and which the people have dubbed "the wisdom tooth."

A grenade landed in an office on the seventh floor in which the top chiefs never worked. There were no casualties as it was after hours. This is the third case of the use of a "Mukha" in Yekaterinburg. First there was an attack on a building in the city center and later on a building housing the administration for combating organized crime. This time they got to the "wisdom tooth."

As always, there are various stories. Some people believe that certain political forces decided to use this method to mark Russia's independence day. Others link it with the court's refusal to satisfy the request of the lawyers of K. Tsyganov, leader of the "Uralmash grouping," to repeal his preventive custody—he is still being held for investigation. IZVESTIYA wrote of his arrest recently. Incidentally, it was after Tsyganov's arrest that a shot was heard at the building housing the administration for combating organized crime.

"Not one of these stories can be confirmed," I was told by V. Barabanshchikov, the chief of this administration. "It seems to us it is more like hooliganism."

Well, if Yekaterinburg's hooligans have exchanged their catapults for a grenade thrower, that is not very pleasant either.

Mordovian Leader Explains Conference Walkout

PM1606110593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with N.V. Biryukov, chairman of the Mordovian Supreme Soviet, by Yelena Musatova; place and date not given: "We See Nothing But the Constitutional Path"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference is continuing its work despite the fact that not all those invited are participating in it. The absentees include Nikolay Vasilyevich Biryukov, chairman of the Mordovian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

[Musatova] Nikolay Vasilyevich, why are you not in Moscow?

[Biryukov] Let us start with the fact that the conference's specific tasks were not defined: whether to finalize or to adopt the draft constitution. Two of our experts are now in Moscow, but they cannot be called "plenipotentiary representatives," as the organizers of the conference do.

I was invited as the leader of a representative organ. Together with other heads of soviets I went to the conference in the hope that there would be a broad exchange of opinions and that all our proposals would be listened to and taken into account.

On my arrival I familiarized myself with the rigid standing orders, which put me on my guard. My colleagues and I gave Khasbulatov the task of addressing the Russian Supreme Soviet session. What happened on the first day of the conference is known. Our hopes of an open, democratic discussion were not realized.

As a citizen and a deputy, I was personally indignant when the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Constitutional Court, and the general prosecutor were not given the floor. It was humiliating to watch all that. I felt insulted and I did not deem it possible to continue participating in further sessions.

The presence of V. Guslyannikov, our former president, at the conference was another important reason for walking out. Since this post no longer exists in Mordovia, whom does he represent? Who invited him, as what, and for what purpose?

I heard President Yeltsin's report, which constituted the main substance of the first day of the conference's work. I cannot share many points that he made. My whole life and all my experience rise up against Yeltsin's words: "The soviets and democracy are incompatible." I do not believe that most Russians will understand that. I disagree with the fact that no place will be found for the soviets in the future constitution. There are many other debatable and even alarming points.

[Musatova] Do you intend to return?

[Biryukov] We intend to work. A session of the Mordovian Supreme Soviet Presidium and a meeting with chairmen of the republic's soviets have been held since my return. We will discuss questions of the future constitution at home. Participation in the work of conferences such as the one that has been convened is not ruled out, but only on condition that our opinion really is valued and regarded as necessary. Otherwise, why make a fuss?

We believe that the elaboration and discussion of the new constitution will still take place within the law. That is, that the conference really is a conference. Its proposals must be submitted to the Constitutional Commission, which exists precisely to take into account and examine all opinions. It is the body that must pull together all the accumulated materials into a single draft—not a presidential, a parliamentary, or anyone else's draft but a common one, agreed with everyone.

When we receive such a document from the Constitutional Commission, we will start examining it at home in Mordovia.

Then the draft new constitution, having been discussed in the provinces, will be submitted to the Congress. This path alone will be legitimate and constitutional. We see no other path.

Yeltsin Degree Increases Privatization Rights

LD1606224593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] The presidential press service has reported that Yeltsin issued a decree today on measures aimed at widening the rights of the subjects of the Russian Federation in the privatization sphere. The decree applies to Belgorod, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sverdlovsk Oblasts, as well as the city of St. Petersburg. [passage omitted]

Power Engineering Minister To Close Kuzbass Mines

LD1606213293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent in Kemerovo reports that yesterday Yuriy Shafranik, Russian Federation minister of power engineering, sent a telegram to Kuzbass about the closure of 40 unprofitable mines in Russia, 11 of them in Kuzbass. The mines in question are not identified, which brings only more confusion to the miners' situation.

International Affairs

Zlenko Calls For Western Help in Denuclearization

AU1606132193 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by Burkhard Bischof; place and date not given: "Otherwise We Would Have to Sell Uranium"]

[Text] [Bischof] Mr. Foreign Minister, in Copenhagen you recently warned the Western states against exerting pressure on Ukraine regarding the ratification of the first treaty on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons (START I). What was the reason for that?

[Zlenko] We have found that pressure by some nuclear powers on Ukraine tends to be counterproductive. Pressure is simply not the right way to persuade Ukraine to take a certain step in this matter. We are calling for cooperation, understanding, and a common language in order to solve the acute problem of ratifying and implementing the START Treaty.

[Bischof] What should this cooperation be like?

[Zlenko] We must concentrate on three essential points. The first concerns guarantees for our national security; this is primarily the business of the nuclear powers. There must be some multilateral agreements on this issue.

The second point concerns comprehensive economic aid for Ukraine. After the ratification, we must immediately dedicate ourselves to implementing the START I Treaty. Unfortunately, we do not have enough financial means of our own for this purpose. In this connection, I appeal to the other countries to consider that the implementation of the agreement is not only the business of Ukraine, but the entire international community.

[Bischof] To whom are you addressing your appeal?

[Zlenko] We would be very grateful if various European institutions, such as the EC, were to adopt a position on this matter and declare their intention to cooperate with Ukraine in implementing this treaty. This appeal is also addressed to the United Nations.

The third question concerns compensation for certain components of the nuclear weapons—above all, highly enriched uranium. We want compensation for that. Otherwise, we would have to sell the uranium to interested states.

[Bischof] Has the West already reacted to your appeal? Has the pressure already become less?

[Zlenko] We are noticing every day that the West is beginning to better understand our position. However, our work continues. I am in constant contact with my counterparts in other countries and am always convincing them of the importance of a common solution.

[Bischof] One day after you appealed to the deputies in the Kiev parliament to ratify the START Treaty quickly because otherwise Ukraine would be threatened with international isolation, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma demanded that Ukraine temporarily declare itself a nuclear power and keep the 46 strategic SS-24 missiles. What do you think about his move?

[Zlenko] This was an interpretation of what parliamentary deputies reported from a closed meeting. Publicly, however, the Ukrainian prime minister never said anything about Ukraine's potential status as a nuclear power.

I cannot interpret and comment on what the head of government said at a closed meeting. It remains for every deputy to express his view on that.

[Bischof] Many of your fellow citizens complain that the West cares too little about events in Ukraine and is primarily interested in the political and economic developments in Russia. Do you also share this view?

[Zlenko] I, just like my government, am very disappointed about the attitude of some Western countries, whose policy toward the East focuses exclusively on Russia. However, it should be in the West's interest to support the new independent states in the geopolitical area of the former Soviet Union and help safeguard and stabilize the situation politically and economically so that harmonious relations will develop between the new states.

It seems to me to be the wrong way if the West concentrates its direct aid almost exclusively on Russia because this might create an imbalance in the development of the new states. The West must deal with all successors of the USSR, even if it has to concentrate on the two largest ones, Russia and Ukraine.

[Bischof] One reason, above all, that Western businessmen hesitate to get involved in Ukraine is because the market economy reforms have been blocked. Do you see any prospects for the necessary economic reforms becoming unblocked in the Kiev parliament?

[Zlenko] Of course, we want more investments in our country. Perhaps our reforms are not really making such speedy progress as some people would like. But we are trying to act very cautiously to circumvent mine fields. Therefore, we are perhaps thinking twice before we act so as to avoid mistakes, which our neighbors have made in implementing economic reforms.

However, I want to assure everybody that we are continuing our political and economic reforms. At the same time, we must continue to be extremely careful so as to avoid any social conflict in our country. Any increase in the prices of foodstuffs or other goods immediately meets with a defensive reaction by the people.

[Bischof] In connection with the latest wave of strikes in the Donets region, old communists demanded that eastern Ukraine unite with Russia. Is Ukraine threatened with territorial dissolution?

[Zlenko] We are very disappointed about such developments in our country. However, this miners' strike, in particular, shows what I have described before: Steps by the government in the direction of economic reforms immediately provoke an unpredictable social reaction.

The president and the government are doing their best to cope with this very complicated situation and prevent the territorial dissolution of Ukraine.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Assumes Control of Cabinet, State Bodies

LD1606194293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1851 GMT 16 Jun 93

["Decree" by President Leonid Kravchuk on "urgent measures regarding stabilizing the economic and political situation in Ukraine" dated 16 June]

[Text] [no dateline as received]— In connection with the sharpening of the socioeconomic and political situation in Ukraine, I resolve:

1. To set up an extraordinary Committee of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for Issues of Operational Management of Ukraine's Economy,

2. To appoint Leonid Danylovych Kuchma—prime minister of Ukraine—chairman of the extraordinary Committee for Issues of Operational Management of Ukraine's Economy.

3. The following comprise the extraordinary committee, listed by their posts:

Prime minister of Ukraine;

First deputy prime minister of Ukraine;

Deputy prime minister of Ukraine for issues of economic reform;

Deputy prime minister of Ukraine for issues of the agro-industrial complex;

Minister of the economy of Ukraine;

Minister of finance of Ukraine;

Chairman of the board of Ukraine's National Bank; and

Chairman of the State Property Fund of Ukraine.

4. The main tasks of the extraordinary committee are to elaborate and implement measures regarding restraining inflation, stabilizing production, increasing social protection of the most vulnerable strata of the population, and preventing extraordinary situations in the social and economic spheres.

5. In implementation of point 3-1 of Article 114-5 of Ukraine's Constitution, direct leadership of the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is carried out by the president of Ukraine.

6. In implementation of point 4 of Article 114-5 of Ukraine's Constitution, the central bodies of state executive power, which carry out management of the nonproduction sphere, are directly subordinate to the president of Ukraine.

7. This decree acquires validity from the day of its signing.

[Signed] Leonid Kravchuk, President of Ukraine
[Dated] Kiev, 16 June 1993

Durdynets Reads Parliament's Appeal to Nation on Strikes

LD1706100493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0740 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Statement read by Deputy Speaker Vasyl Durdynets at parliament session held in Kiev—live]

[Text] Statement by the Supreme Council of Ukraine to the work collectives, political parties and movements, public organizations, and all citizens of Ukraine.

Esteemed countrymen! The situation that has emerged in Ukraine has been extremely complex lately. It may be even the most acute since the declaration of our independent state. The decline of production continues. The volume of national income is falling. More and more economic ties between enterprises and regions are being destroyed. The population's quality of life is deteriorating. In fact, a state of crisis has emerged within society that has been exacerbated further by the latest price rise.

The rallies and strikes that have swept through some of Ukraine's regions, in particular the Donbass, have become a manifestation of the discontent with this situation. All this could lead to disastrous consequences.

Undeniably, along with the objective factors that account for the present situation, there have been a number of miscalculations and mistakes in the activity of Ukraine's Supreme Council and the top bodies of state executive power on the road of building our nation. Not all the laws are perfect. They do not always take account of the peculiarities of the transitional period our society is experiencing. There are many shortcomings with regard to the implementation of these laws.

In the present conditions, the Supreme Council, the president, and the Government of Ukraine are trying their best to stabilize the economy and to stop the impoverishment of the population, so that accord, mutual understanding, and the rule of law become established within society. Lawlessness is the road leading straight to chaos and confrontation. It should be very clear to all that methods of force have never led to good. The solving of any economic, social, and political issues must be done within the framework of the law, with due account of the general interests of the state and its citizens.

We understand the strikers' aspiration to reach immediate decisions; however, these decisions should be well considered, constructive, and in accordance with the norms of the Constitution. Conscious of its responsibility to the future, at this extremely difficult time the Supreme Council of Ukraine is addressing workers, peasants, office workers, collective and trade union leaders, and local representative and executive bodies with an appeal to prevent lawlessness from developing, toward the use of force, and the instigation of disobedience and strikes. This is a dead end road, the road to trouble. We have no right to do this. History will not forgive us for that.

Esteemed electors, citizens of Ukraine, the Supreme Council of Ukraine is appealing to all of you to be filled with a sense of high responsibility for the fate of our young state, to unite and make a joint and calculated step toward finding a way out of the situation in which we find ourselves. A guarantee of this should be the conscientious labor of every work collective, every citizen, the respect and steadfast implementation of the laws, self-organization, and discipline. We hope that we all will have enough wisdom, common sense, and a feeling of civic duty to preserve peace and calm at this dramatic time, and prevent the destruction of the foundations of the national economy and the groundwork of an independent democratic Ukraine, which were laid by the unanimous will and hard efforts of our multi-ethnic nation.

We appeal to all those on strike to get down to work, for the time is pressing.

Presents Draft Resolution on Confidence Referendum

LD1606185293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 16 Jun 93

["Text" of draft resolution on the referendum of confidence in the president and parliament demanded by striking miners, presented by Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council Vasyl Durdynets during a closed session of the parliament's commissions on 16 June—live or recorded]

[Text] On the grounds of the comprehensive discussion we held the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today, a draft resolution of Ukraine's Supreme Council is submitted for your consideration. Let me read it aloud:

Resolution by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. A draft. On the holding of a referendum of confidence or no confidence in the president of Ukraine and the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Taking into account the sociopolitical situation that has emerged in the Donbass and some other regions of Ukraine, having examined proposals by the people's deputies of Ukraine on this issue, the Supreme Council of Ukraine resolves:

1. To hold a Ukrainian-wide referendum on the issues of confidence or no confidence in the president of Ukraine and the Supreme Council of Ukraine on 26 September 1993, in accordance with Clause 18 of Article 97 of Ukraine's Constitution, and Article 46 of Ukraine's Law on Ukrainian-wide and local referenda.

2. To enter the following questions on the ballot paper for the voting: 1) Do you have confidence in the president of Ukraine?—yes/no; 2) Do you have confidence in the Supreme Council of Ukraine?—yes/no.

3. If, as a result of the voting, according to Article 41 of Ukraine's Law on Ukrainian-wide and local referenda, the majority of citizens express no confidence in the president of Ukraine or the Supreme Council of Ukraine, the Supreme Council of Ukraine will call an election for the president of Ukraine or elections for the Supreme Council of Ukraine, in accordance with the current legislation and as a result of the referendum.

I want to stress that the draft we have just announced to you basically agrees with the demands expressed in the miners' statements, which I reported to you.

Donetsk Workers Continue Protest

LD1706064293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0636 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 17 TASS—Workers of Donetsk industrial enterprises continue their civil disobedience movement today on the call of the interregional branch strike coordination council. Once again columns of manifestators headed from seven districts of the city towards the October Square as they did last Monday.

A city meeting will begin here at 11:00 hours Moscow time. Organizers of the meeting decided to broadcast a coverage of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session in the square.

The Supreme Soviet session has to adopt the final decision on holding an all-Ukrainian referendum on a vote of confidence in the president and Supreme Soviet of the republic.

Donetsk Strikers Assail President, Parliament

LD1606213093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2050 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 17 TASS—An attempt made by a number of deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament to block a resolution on holding a nationwide referendum in Ukraine has been denounced by striking workers in Donetsk, who had been on strike for 10 days, staging a rally on the Oktyabrskaya Square.

"We are getting increasingly convinced that both the president and the parliament are afraid to learn what the people think about them and their policies," Vladimir Minenko, member of the Donetsk Strike Committee, told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday. "Therefore, they hold debates, dodging the discussion of our main demands," he said.

Minenko declared that "at present, they have won the support of the majority of the people." He said that another manifestation of workers of all striking enterprises and their supporters would be held in Donetsk and other cities of the Lugansk and Donetsk region on June 17.

Kravchuk, Strike Leader View Settlement Conditions

LD1606220093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] The strike and actions of civil disobedience, planned by the Donetsk Coordination Council of Striking Enterprises, will be cancelled only in the event that the Supreme Council of Ukraine adopts decisions regarding the miners' political demands. This was the subject of today's conversation between Mykhaylo Krylov, chairman of the Donetsk Coordination Council, and President Leonid Kravchuk. Representatives of striking collectives do not intend to forsake their political demands. They believe that only after the demands have been resolved can the discussion of economic issues begin.

Donbass Strikes Spread; Miners Demand Referendum

LD1606220593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2100 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] As of 16 June the strike in the Donbass, Ukraine's major coalmining and industrial region, affected 222 coalmines, 44 coalmine construction agencies, 16 enrichment factories, and over 300 other industrial enterprises. The strike's inter-regional coordinating council reaffirmed its demand to hold an all-Ukrainian referendum on either confidence or non-confidence vote for the president and the parliament before 1 September. The council also insisted on the region's economic autonomy. Meanwhile, the city strike committee is reported to have called on the residents to stage a pot and pan march of protest due to start at 1000 local time tomorrow.

Donbass Strikers Ready for Civil Disobedience

LD1606152593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1234 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 16 TASS—For two days the strikers, holding meetings on squares in the Donbass region, were carefully following the course of the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The fact that the discussion of the strikers' political demands, first of all on holding an all-Ukrainian referendum on confidence in the president and soviets of people's deputies at all levels, gave no positive results, brought about indignation among strikers in the Donbass region.

This was reflected in the address of the interregional interbranch coordination council of the strike to working collectives of Ukraine which expressed strikers' unequivocal non-confidence in all three branches of power in the republic. The people are also indignant about the aspiration of the Ukrainian authorities and mass media which are subordinate to them, to represent the strike as only a miners's strike, by way of which miners are once again seeking to resolve the economic problems of their industry.

But the strike has long become general which may be seen from the following figures: As of Wednesday morning, 230 mines out of 250, about 40 mine building departments and 17 coal preparation plants in Ukraine are taking part in the strike. It is also impossible to hush up the participation in the strike of working collectives of almost 400 enterprises in the metallurgical, machine building, chemical and light industries, as well as other branches.

"This strike is no longer a miners' strike," Mykhaylo Krylov, chairman of the Strike Coordination Council, told ITAR-TASS. "Of course, one cannot call it a nationwide one, but it has sure become an all-Donbass strike. The setting up of the Coordination Council proves it. Today we are discussing demands of not only miners but all working people. We hoped that the leadership in Kiev would listen to our opinions. But the latest events in the Supreme Soviet have shown that our parliament has ceased to be a parliament. The parliamentarians have not been the people's choice for a long time.

"It seems that our representatives of power are living in a madeup, unreal world, not understanding that they have long been working on the destruction of Ukraine, and not on its prosperity. We are not going to retreat. We are not conducting any economic negotiations with the government, and we will not do so until our political demands are satisfied, first of all for a nationwide referendum. Even tomorrow we are ready to start new actions of civil disobedience. In what form they will be carried out, we will decide today," the chairman of the Strike Coordination Council pointed out.

Two Million Involved in Donbass Political Strike

PM1706084993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 1

[Igor Sukhanov report: "Ukraine: Economy Paralyzed. And the Authorities?"]

[Text] The epicenter of tension in the republic has been and remains the industrial southeast. The strike started by miners in a number of Donetsk coal extraction enterprises (according to data from the interregional intersector strike coordinating committee as of 14 June) is already being supported by approximately 230 mines and over 100 collectives at enterprises engaged in machine- and instrument-building, the construction industry, motor vehicle transportation, light industry, and the food industry. They have not stopped work, but they are showing complete solidarity with the demands of the striking metal workers, chemical workers, and aviation workers.

Since economic demands turned political on only the second day of the strike, all branches of power in Ukraine are being gripped ever more tightly by a political crisis.

The strikers are insisting that the Donbass be granted the right to manage its economy at the regional level.

The strikers have expressed their lack of confidence in Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and demanded that this issue be put to an all-Ukrainian referendum.

Donetsk Oblast Soviet deputies have also passed a motion of no confidence in the president. In line with a decision by their session, they have demanded that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet plan and execute an all-Ukrainian referendum on confidence in the president, the Supreme Soviet, and soviets of people's deputies at all levels. The Donetsk Oblast Soviet is also insisting that the Supreme Soviet adopt a decision on Ukraine's accession to the CIS with a unified banking, customs, and payments policy.

At the latest session of the interregional intersector strike coordinating committee, representatives of the miners' strike committees reaffirmed their decision not to talk about any sector privileges or concessions and to refuse to negotiate with the Ukrainian Government until the Supreme Soviet meets all their political demands. According to information from the coordinating committee, over 2 million people are taking part in the strike.

Yesterday the Supreme Soviet examined the strikers' political demands. Volodymyr Shlyaposhnikov, director of the Ukrainian president's press service, said over the telephone:

"L. Kravchuk addressed the deputies this morning. He urged deputies to find a way out of the crisis within the framework of the law as it exists. Referring to the experience of Russia, which is going through a similar political crisis, the president suggested that a referendum could turn out to be a 'blank shot' and would not be a way out of the acute political situation. Moreover, the Ukrainian Constitution makes no provision for the actual possibility of holding this sort of referendum. First of all the necessary amendments would have to be made to the fundamental law.

"The peculiar nature of the situation has much to do with the disunity of Ukrainian parliamentarians. The presence in the Supreme Soviet of a number of factions and blocs virtually excludes the possibility of making major amendments to the Constitution, each of which should garner at least 300 votes."

L. Kuchma addressed parliament yesterday, however. The head of the cabinet again accused the republic's Supreme Soviet of blocking all the government's attempts to reform the economy. On the other hand the deputies are now striving to lay all responsibility for the political crisis on the government. The Ukrainian prime minister sounded a new theme with his accusations that Russia had taken an "unfriendly step" by raising oil prices. This, L. Kuchma believes, is the basic reason for the dramatic price hikes in Ukraine (for which read: And the strikes in the Donbass—I.S.).

As of 1600 Moscow time on 15 June, voting by deputies in the Ukrainian parliament on the proposed draft decrees has yielded no results. A discussion of the situation has been postponed to the evening session at which it is planned to hear government information and a speech by the chairman of the board of the Ukrainian National Bank.

Donbass Deputies Seek Dissolution of Parliament

PM1606141193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lisovenko report: "Donetsk Deputies Have Expressed No Confidence in President"]

[Text] Donetsk—A sitting of the oblast soviet session has been held in Donetsk. The people's deputies submitted their package of demands to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Cabinet of Ministers, and president.

By an overwhelming majority the Donetsk deputies adopted a decision to express no confidence in Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk. The session called his policy and that of the Supreme Soviet irresponsible. The deputies voted to hold a referendum on the question of dissolving the Supreme Soviet.

The session also demanded a large-scale experiment in granting Donetsk Oblast considerable regional autonomy, which would enable it to have the right of legislative initiative and the possibility of controlling the earth's riches, to organize free economic zones, to introduce local taxes, to conduct border trade, independently to form a reconstruction and development fund, to carry out renaming, to pursue its own policy of language development, etc.

Donetsk Oblast Soviet also demanded that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet adopt a decision on joining the CIS economic union, including the banking, customs, and payment unions.

The session's decision can be considered perfectly fair in respect of Ukrainian statehood, although there was a danger that a number of Russian-speaking deputies would start to go too far, as V. Gromov from Yenakiyevo did, for example, when he declared that "the people do not need independence, and the post of president of Ukraine ought to be abolished." Alas, none of those present in the hall objected to this reformer. But these statements angered Ukrainian patriots, who were in the square. One of them—evidently a representative of Rukh—remarked indignantly that today's session was an important landmark "in the matter of tearing the Donbass away from the republic."

The strike in the Donbass is continuing.

Kuchma To Meet Krivoy Rog Strikers 18 Jun

WS1706070293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma to is expected to arrive in Krivoy Rog at 0700 GMT on 18 June. His meeting with striking miners is scheduled for 1100 GMT. According to the Regional Association of the Independent Trade Union of Kryvbass, 11 mines are continuing the strike to force a solution to the package of economic issues. Negotiations between the trade union leadership and the government delegation has brought no results. The miners have declared that if their demands are not met in the next few days, they will support the political claims put forward by their Donbass counterparts, with the exception of a vote of no-confidence in President Kravchuk.

Chervonograd Miners, Workers Reject Strikes

WS1706081993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Leaflets have been circulated at Lvov Oblast Chervonograd mines by the local Ukrainian Communist Party committee. According to the leaflets, the communists stand ready to support a strike by the miners. However, Chervonograd miners and workers declared at a strike meeting that they would not stop working. Participants at the same session, including representatives of different trade unions and the oblast administration, have adopted a package of demands which include dissolution of soviets on all levels beginning with the Supreme Soviet, giving a free hand to Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, and granting him additional powers. A group of Chervonograd miners has departed for Kiev and Donetsk to explain the position of west Ukrainian workers. They believe that rather than ruining Ukraine by strikes, other ways of obtaining socioeconomic goals must be found.

Masses Demonstrate, Demand Dissolution of Supreme Soviet

WS1606071993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] More than 6,000 people gathered in front of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building demanding social guarantees, higher pensions, and return of privileges. Handicapped men in wheelchairs and cars, Chernobyl veterans, and mothers of large families occupied the street. The All-Ukrainian Association of Workers' Solidarity called for the Supreme Soviet's dissolution, new elections within the next three months, and the right of the president to become head of the executive power. After the day shift, a group of Arsenal factory workers, 4,000 people strong, was to join the demonstrators. Representatives of Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, and Krivoy Rog metallurgists confirmed their support for the economic demands of the striking miners. Representatives of Western Ukraine arrived with slogans in support of the president.

New Ukraine Association Supports Miners' Demands

LD1506230593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The coordinating council of the New Ukraine association has examined the issue of the political situation in our state. It adopted a statement in which it supported the striking miners' demands regarding the dismissal of the Supreme Council. The market policy of the president and government also came in for criticism in this document.

Members of the coordinating council expressed themselves for the need to hold a constitutional assembly in Ukraine.

Dnepropetrovsk Steel Workers Support Miners

PM1706110993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By Gennadiy Klimov and Vladimir Shtengelov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Klimov] The pre-strike alert declared at Ukrainian metallurgical enterprises today is an action in support of the miners. No one is intent on closing down metallurgical production facilities. The blast furnacemen and steel workers are struggling for the survival of their industry and are doing all they can to keep the fires burning, because otherwise a key industry will be destroyed.

However, here at the plant named for Petrovskiy, just as at other, similar plants, the inevitable is happening. The blast furnaces are grinding to a halt. There is no coke, no coal. The enterprise is operating at one-fourth of its capacity. "Petrovka" metal workers have dispatched representatives to picket the parliament in Kiev. People can absent themselves without detriment to production. There is no work. Life is not easy for those who are still working either. Even furnace workers find it hard to feed their families. A meal in the plant cafeteria costs 1,000 karbovanets, while average wages at the plant total 43,000. Wages account for only 0.8 percent of the value of what is produced. This is unprecedented in the more than 100 years of the enterprise's history.

[Unidentified worker] The runaway prices are no good. The demands made by our people, by the miners are just. We support them.

[Klimov] In addition to submitting their demands, the metalworkers have asked parliament and the Cabinet of Ministers to adopt urgent measures to stabilize the sector, to finally grasp that the time for debate is over. They have been promised that a government commission headed by Leonid Kuchma will arrive in Dnepropetrovsk this week.

Crimean Supreme Soviet Appeals to Yeltsin, Kravchuk

WS1606145493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1415 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Simferopol, 16 June—An emergency session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet opened today at 0900. In its first hour, the deputies adopted an appeal to the Ukrainian and Russian Presidents calling on them to preserve the Black Sea Fleet as a single military unit belonging to both states—the suggestion advocated by Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, the fleet's commander-in-chief; to take into account the social, economic, and defensive interests of the Crimea while considering the retention of Sevastopol as the Fleet's main base; and to resolve the social problems of the Black Sea servicemen (emphasis was placed primarily on dual citizenship and contract service issues).

Chairman of the Crimean Supreme Soviet Mykola Bagrov, and Prime Minister Borys Samsonov, are scheduled to fly to Moscow at 1400 on 16 June in order to meet with Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk on 17 June. The leaders of the Crimea will unveil a package of documents regulating the "open-economy status" of the Crimea.

Crimea Deputies Demand Autonomy

LD1606192393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By correspondent Vladimir Plotnikov from Simferopol; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At an extraordinary session today, the Supreme Soviet of the Crimea adopted a resolution and other documents on formation of an open economy regime on the territory of the Crimean Republic. Establishment of its own central bank, customs administration, and laws on the budgetary system, taxation, and foreign investment is planned. At present the Crimea entirely depends on Kiev in these spheres.

The deputies have been forced to make an attempt to achieve autonomy by instituting ruinous price hikes, bringing about the reduction and halting of production and the decline of agriculture, amd putting forward demands for an early end to the powers of the president and the supreme soviets of Ukraine and Crimea.

True, it is not yet known how the president and Supreme Soviet of Ukraine will regard such autonomy. One of the deputies recalled that a year ago, by command from Kiev, the constitution of the Crimea was altered and a moratorium was imposed on a referendum on Crimean autonomy. However, in the present situation the Ukrainian leadership may agree to the proposals of the Crimean Parliament.

The session also passed a resolution on the position regarding the Black Sea Fleet. The Crimean Supreme Soviet considers that in the talks between the presidents of Ukraine and Russia the problem of the fleet should be examined as part of the single set of questions connected with the Crimea and Sevastopol, and documents should be adopted without delay ensuring the civil, economic, and social rights of servicemen of the Black Sea Fleet and members of their families.

Crimean Legislature Adopts Resolutions on Economy, Fleet

WS1706091993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2206 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Simferopol, 16 June—A resolution to achieve a free-economy status [rezhym vilnoyi ekonomiky] through the liberalization of financial and economic, budgetary, tax, foreign, and customs operations was adopted at the 12th extraordinary session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet. The Crimean Council of Ministers was obliged to draft legal acts intended to regulate the open-economy status including a law on the Central Bank, the Crimean customs administration, licensing foreign economic activities and registration of enterprises, procedures for the registering of foreign companies, banks, and their affiliates. The Council of Ministers was given a month to draft laws "On the Budgetary System," "On Taxing," and "On Foreign Investments." The Supreme Soviet also submitted this legislative initiative to the Ukrainian president.

This issue was addressed by Mr. Samsonov, chairman of the Crimean Council of Ministers, who came up with an alternative draft of the legal guarantees designed to protect investment and promote free economic activities on Crimean territory.

The deputies approved a resolution on the position of the Crimean Supreme Soviet concerning the negotiations held by the Russian and Ukrainian presidents over the Black Sea fleet. The document stressed the need to uphold socio-economic and state interests of the Crimean Republic while settling the fleet dispute. It also favored the preservation of the Black Sea fleet as a single military unit defending Ukraine, Russia, and Crimea. The Crimean Republic also demands that the social, defensive, and economic interests of Sevastopol (and other Crimean Black Sea naval bases) and the Ukrainian Navy be guaranteed. Deputy Liliya Levchenko was the only one who voted against the resolution. In her opinion, leasing Crimea signifies the betrayal of Crimean interests and its Russian residents. Mykola Bagrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, said that Ms. Levchenko's reasoning resembles that of the Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov—only with the inverse sign.

A decision was made to expand the membership of the delegation leaving for Russia to hold negotiations on economic issues.

Valeriy Arbuzov, head of the Crimean Federation of Independent Trade Unions, presented the deputies with the demands of union activists picketing the Supreme Soviet. The deputies decided to submit all the economic claims—such as wage increases, reducing income tax, providing purpose payments [adresni dotatsiyi] to low-income population, and direct links with Russia—to the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet.

Military-Industrial Complex Deputy Prime Minister Appointed

LD1606195193 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1701 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline, as received]—Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, by means of a decree has appointed Valeriy Mykolayovych Shmarov deputy prime minister of Ukraine for issues of the military-industrial complex.

Belarus

Prime Minister Meets Lithuanian Counterpart

LD1406212393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyachaslav Kebich met Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius in the Belarusian village of Gervyaty in Ostrovetskiy rayon, which borders on Lithuania. After a short conversation behind closed doors, the leaders of the governments told journalists that they had managed to come to an agreement on some important issues. In particular, Vyachaslaw Kebich said that Belarus will pay Lithuania in the nearest future 8 billion rubles of the 12 billion rubles debt for electricity. He also expressed confidence that Belarus will soon be able to use Lithuanian sea ports.

The sanatorium Belarus was touched upon during the conversation. The sanatorium was built in its time on the territory of Lithuania by our republic at its own expense. The recent leadership of Lithuania has appropriated it by a single stroke of a pen. Adolfas Slezevicius promised to make every effort in order to correct that mistake.

Economic Agreement Signed With Latvia

LD1706030393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1546 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 16 Jun—An agreement on trade and economic cooperation for this year was signed by Belarus and Lativa today. Both sides see good prospects for improving trade between the two countries. Belarus proposed an increase in the supply of fish and minibuses. The Latvian side expressd its readiness for joint use of sea ports, the leasing of ships, and forming crews using sailors living in Latvia. Belarus' proposal to participate in the rebuilding of Latvia's ports was accepted.

Defense Minister on Problems Facing Military

WS1606140493 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 1 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Colonel-General Pavel Pavlovich Kozlovskiy, Belarusian defense minister, by correspondent Alyaxandr Koktysh; place and date not given: "Of Greater Concern to Commanders Is Combat-Readiness Rather Than Housing Problems"]

[Text] [Koktysh] Belarusian television has recently broadcasted your comments on the possible dispatch of Belarusian troops to Yugoslavia under the UN umbrella. In your opinion, can this happen?

[Kozlovslkiy] It will become a possibility if the Belarusian legislature supports this decision. In general—in my personal opinion and in the opinion of the Defense Ministry—we should not interfere with other countries' internal affairs. If we send peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia, we will lose rather than win. Some days ago, the Defense Ministry Collegium discussed this issue, and the decision was negative. Nevertheless, we are military men; therefore, we should know the rules for dispatching troops to "hotspot."

[Koktysh] As far as I can understand, you are not ruling out the possibility of our participation in the Yugoslav conflict.

[Kozlovskiy] I cannot entirely exclude this possibility. Of course, we need the decision of the Belarusian legislature.

[Koktysh] Yugoslavia is far away from Belarus. We have enough conflict zones within the CIS. Is the participation of Belarusian troops there more likely?

[Kozlovskiy] We have not yet signed an agreement on the statute of the CIS peacekeeping forces. We can join the collective security treaty on the condition that our troops will not participate in military conflicts outside Belarus.

[Koktysh] Well, speaking on this issue, does the Defense Ministry plan to create flexible response forces that could resolve domestic and border conflicts?

[Kozlovskiy] Reforms in air transport divisions and mechanized brigades foresee the creation of highly mobile units.

[Koktysh] In the opinion of various international experts, Belarus is strictly fulfilling all the signed treaties on arms reduction. Has anything changed in this sphere lately?

[Kozlovskiy] No, we have no comments from the international community. Our experts have no claims agains the other countries in this respect, either. Belarusian Defense Ministry experts have visited Belgium and France. Currently, our representatives are inspecting military sites in Germany. The greatest concern for us is the lack of finances for dismantling tanks, armored personnel carriers, and infantry fighting vehicles which come under the arms limitation treaty. Our state should take care of these problems. However, we were promised financial assistance from the United States. They have already adopted the decision to earmark $74 million [figure as published]. However, this money is designed for the maintenance of nuclear security and ties between the Belarusian and American National Centers. Perhaps, we could get some financial aid from the European Community. Thus, the issue is a pressing one.

[Koktysh] Would it be simpler not to dismantle the arms, but to sell them at a high price?

[Kozlovskiy] It is up to the state to make the choice whether to fulfill international obligations and strive to acquire the status of a neutral state, or to follow a separate path. But what will this path bring us to?

[Koktysh] Nonetheless, Belarus is selling arms....

[Kozlovskiy] Yes, the outdated weapons. The earnings are being used to strengthen our national defense. We are selling the arms strictly according to UN guidelines.

[Koktysh] We would like to learn about the fate of Lieutenant Colonel Statkevich, chairman of the Belarusian Association of Servicemen [BAS], who was dismissed from active duty into the reserves.

[Kozlovskiy] The Supreme Soviet session has almost unanimously adopted the decree banning the political activity of servicemen who are on active duty. The officers who understood the incompatibility of combining their service duties with political activities filed the relevant reports and left the Army. The majority of them withdrew their membership in the political organizations. Lieutenant Colonel Statkevich has refused to file a report on the withdrawal of his BAS membership. Thus, he has made a choice.

[koktysh] Did you speak to him?

[Kozlovskiy] Yes, before his dismissal. He has declared that the BAS will deal with the issues of reviving the national culture and language. I hailed this type of activity. Nevertheless, when they started to organize rallies and criticize the state policy and the defense minister's orders, it was obvious that they were getting involved in political activities. In addition, according to the official decision of the Belarusian Office of Prosecutor, BAS activities were considered political.

[Koktysh] What about the reduction of the Armed Forces?

[Kozlovskiy] This is being carried out according to the plan. Previously, many servicemen opposed this process. Currently, the situation has changed. Recently, I visited some Grodno units. Of greater concern to the servicemen were issues of combat readiness rather that housing problems. My inspection did not reveal a single complaint from either privates or officers. In Bobruysk, for example, the dismissed servicemen were granted better housing conditions.

[Koktysh] Pavel Pavlovich, you were speaking about an optimistic mood in the Army. A Belarusian officer who had come from Tajikistan warned authorities about a possible riot of homeless Belarusian officers who were converted to reserve status.

[Kozlovskiy] We can offer positions to only few of the Belarusian officers who have returned to Belarus from other CIS regions. This program is under way. The Defense Ministry, along with the appropriate state departments and organs is resolving the servicemen's social welfare issues. This work is already yielding results in the Army.

Cuban Ambassador Presents Credentials to Kuznetsov

WS1706111893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] On 16 June 1993, Anna Maria Rovira, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cuba to Belarus, presented her credentials to First Deputy Chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Vyacheslav Kuznetsov.

Anna Maria Rovira was born in 1945. She graduated from the Philosophical and Philological Departments of Havana University.

She speaks Polish, French and Russian.

Moldova

Luchinskiy Interviewed on Parliament's Program, Activity

MK1606115493 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 25, 16-22 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 15 Jun) p 2

["Exclusive" interview with Parliament Chairman Petr Luchinksiy by Lyudmila Petrova; place and date not given: "'The Time for Battles Is Gone'"]

[Excerpts] [Petrova] Mr. Luchinskiy, four months have passed since you were elected chairman of Moldova's parliament. I suppose that you, a professional politician, took up that post with a particular program. What is it? Also, what has changed in parliament's activity during this time?

[Luchinskiy] In my opinion, the deputies now have a greater responsibility for the fate of parliament, if not for the fate of the country. The reasons for this are various. There can be personal interests. As far as I am concerned, I felt their wish to resolve the outstanding problems—let us say, end all conflicts about the adoption of the constitution. It seems that relations between different factions have normalized.... Generally, the approach toward dealing with political problems has changed: What was earlier rejected out of hand, like for instance, the Gagauz issue, today becomes a subject of discussion. Although two lines within parliament are becoming increasingly more pronounced—one is directed toward asserting Moldova's statehood, the other toward proving the impossibility of the existence of such a state.

As to my program, I submitted it in 1990: Such a state needs to be created and consolidated. Stability and calm are needed—the time of political battles and squabbles in the republic has gone. The people are tired. Look at the history of all revolutions. Four, five years at the most—society cannot endure any longer. It is time to get down to the economy, give each individual an opportunity to build his own life. This is what the people are awaiting. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] Many observers link your advent to the post of parliament chairman with changes in Moldova's domestic and foreign policy. Is this correct?

[Luchinskiy] What are the concrete historical conditions in which the entire country has found itself? On one side there is Romania, with which we have a common history, culture, and language—and relations, which after 1944, let us say, have not been encouraged. Therefore the aspiration of many people toward rapprochement, even on a purely kinship basis, is perfectly natural. This should not be made into an issue, and neither Russia nor Ukraine should scowl at this. On the other side there is Ukraine, a huge state. There are problems arising from the fact that part of Ukrainian territory passed to us while part of ours went there. Next, there are living, concrete, centuries-old contacts with Russia. It is our task to build normal relations with all these states, also knowing where we stand. Not to offend the national feelings of our citizens, because those who are small always want to appear taller—this should be understood—but on the other hand, this desire should not be encouraged to go too far since thereby we could offend others, and it is always bad to offend the big ones. In this respect my credo is to get along with everybody. And then we shall create a most wonderful European state.

[Petrova] But your predecessors have left a sad legacy: Gagauzia, the Dniestr region, and the Romanian issue. What options for resolving these problems do you think there are?

[Luchinskiy] Everything will be resolved gradually. People often have hopes that things will become wonderful overnight. They will not. One can only fall sick overnight; it takes time to recover, gradually. Now, we are proposing to the Dniestr region: We shall talk about your status yet, but let us see what could be done right now to make life easier for the people. Can we restore a single economy in the country? We can. Do you agree? They do. But then again, forces opposed to this intervene. And I cannot say that the people are not involved here. They are. If they have such leaders, then others must be elected.

[Petrova] You think that leaders on the other bank of the Dniestr must change before the conflict could be resolved?

[Luchinksiy] No, I do not. We shall also be working with these leaders, but if they are changed, so much the better. Parliament can legally formalize some rights of the population living there. But to create territorial formations on an ethnic principle, especially given that there are also Ukrainian and Moldovan villages? Surely we are not idiots! If the Gagauz are now allowed to celebrate victory, so to speak, then in a week we shall have the same problems on our hands with Bulgarians. Then the Turks. And then probably the Pechenegs. This means going back to the 19th century! Show me just one point of law where Gagauz rights have been violated. We agree on the creation of a large region [oblast] in the south. We are ready to grant the Gagauz the right to express their ethnic identity. There are many options here.

[Petrova] There is also the Romanian question and there are forces that are strongly set on unification.

[Luchinksiy] Yes, they are openly proclaiming this goal. But sociological surveys show that between 8 and 10 percent of the population support this course. Even if we ignore this for a moment and talk about unification of certain countries, obviously it should proceed with a totally different level of their development. In our situation this means on one hand to doom the people to yet greater hardships, and on the other simply to unleash a war. What is the way out? Work so that people here have a good life. What will happen next, history will show. But this is not the history of today.

[Petrova] How do you envision Moldova's relationship with Russia, with other former Soviet republics, and with the Commonwealth as a whole?

[Luchinskiy] We have generally normal relations with official Russian circles—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the leadership. But here is the question: If Russia recognizes Moldova as a state, this means that it should follow the rules that arise from this. And what is happening in reality? It recognizes it but at the same time maintains direct links with part of the republic. Economic, political, and military links. An open door in the Dniestr region! This is absurd. This is a violation of all international norms. Another question: Whose rights is Russia protecting—the rights of Russians in other states or the rights of the entire Russian-speaking population? If the latter, then we are forced to go back to the notion of the master, the ruler in Europe. If it protects Russians, then there is world experience. The Society of Russian Culture should be helped with textbooks and other things, whatever is required to ensure the development of this minority. Assist the Russian population in resolving problems in the cultural sphere and in education. For instance, where to send those Russians who leave school; are there any opportunities for them in Russia? And how should they be defended—with weapons? Russia should have a clear-cut policy on this issue. We are not making any great claims; we only want to be respected. Just as a state. We enjoy normal relations with the Commonwealth. We intend to develop them. Naturally, any return to any association of former republics is immediately perceived as a return to the past.

[Petrova] One-third of Moldova's population is made up of the so-called Russian-speakers. Are they being subjected to discrimination? And what, in your opinion, should be done so that this part of the republic's citizens do not feel that they are in the role of outcasts?

[Luchinskiy] Indeed, a large number of problems have arisen with respect to Russians and Russian-speakers. They have found themselves in another country, as it were. Not at their will. And there is nowhere for them to go. Problems have arisen for a particular group of people connected primarily with leadership positions. But tell me: When an absolute majority of leaders in the past were not of an indigenous nationality, was that normal? This is why this must be understood and not turned into a tragedy. Is it so difficult to learn 50 words? Or even 30? It would be desirable if the Russian-speaking population would be more vigorous in supporting the policy of the Moldovan state; then, I think, all problems, even in everyday life, would be resolved. But there should be no intention of provoking a conflict. "We have a right! We have been sent here." I can understand people. But I cannot understand those who make demands. [passage omitted]

Head of Parliament Commission for Military Issues Elected

AU1706054693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2037 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 15/6/1993—Today, at the session of Parliament, deputy Anatol Simac was appointed by the majority of votes (163 out of 180) to the position of a chairman of the Parliamentary State Commission on Military and Security Affairs [name of body as received]. His candidature was suggested by the parliamentary fraction Viata Satului while he was absent for a reason "his child being ill." The absence did not hinder Simac for beating other candidates from the post. Amongst these candidates were deputies Mihai Druta, Andrei Turcanu, Valentin Krilov, Valeriu Daraban, and Nicolae Alexei. Parliament turned down a proposal from a deputy to merge this commission with the commission on the problems of crime. Anatol Taran, the ambassador of Moldova in Moscow, was the former chairman of the commission.

Dniester, Gagauz Discuss Economic Cooperation

AU1706054793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2037 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Comrat BASAPRESS, 15/6/1993—The vice prime minister of the self-proclaimed Gagauzian Republic, Andrey Bulukli, who was recently appointed as the head of a commission for finishing of a bilateral economic agreement with the Dniester Republic, held a first meeting with a corresponding commission from Tiraspol headed by Gleb Podghorodetskiy. The vice prime minister communicated to a BASAPRESS reporter that during the meeting the project of the long-term economic agreement between Dniester and the South Regions was collated. The commission is going to consider the means of restoration of economic ties with the former Soviet republics and other countries. The Dniester Republic has already undertaken steps for delivering fuel to the Southern Regions.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Strengthens Executive Power

PM1506135193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Vladimir Ardayaev: "N. Nazarbayev Strengthens Government"]

[Text] Almaty—Following sharp criticism for the virtual disruption of the pace of implementation of the anticrisis program to which the Kazakhstan president was subjected by his government a week ago, he has taken a number of steps to strengthen executive power in the country.

Two edicts have been published. The first has abolished the consultative council under the Kazakhstan president—instead a national council for state policy and a new advisory organ have been created. The second edit defines the organizational and legal status of the central organs of executive power.

Nazarbayev Opens State Policy Council Session

LD1506191393 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1400 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The first session of the National Council for State Policy, which was set up 10 days ago by the president's decree, took place on 15 June. Nursultan Nazarbayev, who chaired the meeting, emphasized in his opening speech the importance for a young sovereign state of laying down the foundations of future policies and elaborating well thought out and comprehensive blueprints.

Nursultan Nazarbayev outlined the three main tasks of state policy, on the successful implementation of which a consistent deepening of sovereignty of the republic depends: a much speedier overcoming of the economic crisis; ensuring a dignified life for the people of Kazakhstan under conditions of civilized democracy; and implementing legal reform fully and without any delay. As practice shows, it is not possible to move ahead along the road of market reforms without this. Achieving a radical transformation of the bodies of local power is no less important, and there is not enough interaction between legislative and executive branches of power at all levels. In view of the forthcoming replacement of powers of the current composition of soviets of people's deputies at all levels, we have to develop and endorse a new law on elections which will be in the interests of both the people and the state.

Having approved the president's efforts aimed at solving the problems the republic is facing, those who spoke at the session put forward a suggestion aimed at raising the efficiency of work of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of power and a strict implementation of the laws, resolutions, and statutes adopted by them. The council set up a commission on interaction between state power and all the institutions and geo-political aspects of [word indistinct] politics, social science, liberal arts and the problems of the [word indistinct] cultural development, informational restructuring, common space, legal reform, and the legal education of the population. Apart from this a standing commission has been set up on developing the blueprint of a new state (?identity), an education pertaining to the humanities, the geo-political aspects of foreign policy and setting up a democratic and tolerant space [words indistinct].

Nazarbayev Emphasizes Importance of Trade Unions

LD1606040793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Almaty, 15 Jun—The republican leadership will work in even closer contact with trade unions in the future; not a single important issue will be solved at cabinet sessions without their representatives, President Nursultan Nazarbayev said at a meeting with leaders of the federation of Kazakhstan trade unions, republican industrial trade unions, and oblast trade union councils yesterday evening.

The head of state stressed that the government shares the same platform with trade unions. They should organize their activity taking into account society's transition to a market economy while using the positive experience accumulated earlier and the initiatives born among workers.

Large-scale privatization is starting in the country. Half of state property will remain with the state. A 15-percent share will be transferred to private ownership of citizens of the republic. Each of them will get 100 personal coupons, which will later be backed by shares. Ten percent of the shares of any state enterprise will be given to its labor collective. The large-scale privatization will make it possible to create competition, without which market-based regulation of prices is impossible.

With regard to timely payment of salaries, the head of state noted that on this issue we depend to a great degree on Russia's money printing presses. But the government is persistently working on this problem in order to solve it promptly.

The president recommended that a declaration on joint cooperation between the government, the council of the federation of trade unions, and the union of entrepreneurs be signed in the near future.

Urges Unions To Mobilize Labor

LD1606230793 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has met representatives of the Federation of

Trade Unions of the Republic at his residence. Siyazbek Mukashev, chairman of the Federation Council, and a number of heads of republican industrial unions and oblast councils of trade unions told him about their current problems. They addressed the head of the state with proposals which will enable, in their opinion, to improve the quality and quantity of the work done by trade union organizations.

Daulet Sembayev, first deputy prime minister, and Galym Baynazarov, chairman osaf the Board of the National State Bank, answered questions.

In his speech Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that the government of Kazakhstan is on the same platform with the trade unions. They should build their activity taking into account the realities of the transition period to the market economy, using their positive expertise accumulated earlier. The president said: "During my recent visit to East Kazakhstan oblast I made sure that workers of industrial enterprises themselves should find new creative approaches to the solution of the existing problems. It is important for the trade unions to have this in mind and to actively promote finding the quickest possible way out of the economic crisis, and to mobilize people for increasing their labor productivity.

Massive privatization is beginning in the country. A certain share of the property will be given over to the personal ownership of the citizens of the republic. Everyone will receive personal vouchers which will then be provided with stock. The main objective here is that privatization should promote comprehensive competition without which it is impossible to regulate market prices. As far as the timely payment of salaries and wages is concerned, the head of state went on to note, we are to a great extent dependent on the mints of Russia. But the government is working on this problem very persistently in order to resolve it in the near future. The leadership of the republic intends to work in much closer contact with the trade unions in future. Not a single important issue examined by the Cabinet of Ministers will be tackled without the participation of the trade unions' representatives."

Describing the situation in the republic, Nursultan Nazarbayev called upon trade union leaders to facilitate strengthening of local authorities, to contribute to combating crime, and to get the whole nation involved in this battle. According to the president's advice, a joint declaration is soon to be signed on the cooperation between the government, the council of the federation of trade unions, and the union of entrepreneurs. Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko and members of the government participated in the meeting.

Foreign Minister Meets French, U.S. Ambassadors

LD1406151893 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1400 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Summary] Foreign Affairs Minister Tuletay Suleymenov has received U.S. Ambassador to Kazakhstan William Courtney. Under discussion were the prospects for trade and economic cooperation between the United States and Kazakhstan.

The head of the foreign department has received the French Ambassador to Kazakhstan, Bertrand Fessard de Foucault, at his request. They spoke about the need for developing relations between the two countries and training diplomatic personnel for Kazakhstan.

President Receives Message From Egypt's Mubarak

NC1506173193 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1239 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Almaty, 15 Jun (MENA)—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev has received a written message from President Husni Mubarak dealing with bilateral relations and issues of common interest to the two countries. Egyptian Awqaf Minister Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub handed President Nazarbayev the message during a meeting here today.

President Nazarbayev praised the strong and developing ties linking the peoples of Egypt and Kazakhstan and expressed gratitude for President Mubarak's outstanding efforts and support for the Islamic call throughout the Islamic world and in service of Islam and the Muslims. He thanked Egypt for donating $5 million to build an Islamic center in Almaty, for which Dr. Mahjub will lay the foundation stone tomorrow morning. The center will be built on an area of 10 feddans and will comprise an Islamic university, a library, and a large mosque.

New Minister of Justice Appointed

LD1706105193 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] By decree of the president of Kazakhstan, Nagashibay Amangaliy-uly Shaykenov is appointed minister of justice.

Paper Says Foreign Secret Services Step Up Spying

LD1606091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0832 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty June 16 TASS—The secret services of a number of foreign countries step up intelligence activities against Kazakhstan, the Almaty-based daily newspaper "Express K" reported on Wednesday referring to Bulat Bayekenov, chairman of the republican National Security Committee.

Over the past year alone, the committee personnel uncovered about ten foreign intelligence agents, including those from states of the former fraternal socialist camp. They all, just as about 20 spies who were spotted earlier, are under close surveillance of Kazakhstan security people. The committee does not so far intend to publicly expose foreign countries' agents. In the opinion of Bayekenov, such an action is would have no sense because other intelligence agents would be sent to replace them, which is sure to result in additional trouble for the committee personnel.

The National Security Committee does not intend to adhere to a passive attitude towards spies either. Delicate conversations have been held with the ambassadors of some countries as to the inadmissibility of using various foreign official missions as a cover for intelligence agents. All this calls for reinforcing the committee with highly qualified personnel. A specialised institute, which is being established on the basis of the Almaty higher frontier guard school, will train them according to a decree issued by President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Measures are also being taken to train encryption and government communications specialists.

Touching upon the outflow of personnel to immediate neighbour countries in view of the break-up of the Soviet Union, Bayekenov stated that, as far as his committee is concerned, the peak for the outflow is already past. Only 20 people here let their jobs for this reason since the beginning of the year, he said.

[Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 16 June carries a related article by Anatoliy Ladin on page 1 entitled "Kazakhstan's National Security Committee Not Working in Vain", adding the following: "In the past year the republic's National Security Committee [NSC] has exposed 10 agents of foreign special services and more than 20 specialist intelligence staffers [kadrovyye razvedchiki] 'who were visiting' Kazakhstan, and has detained 66 border violators.

["At a news conference devoted to the anniversary of the committee's formation the chairman of Kazakhstan's NSC, Lieutenant General Bulat Bayekenov, cited other facts too. Thus, with the aid of timely information damage to the republic estimated at $540 million was averted just in Mangistatsinskaya Oblast alone, while an operation to put a halt to a major contraband action was mounted together with Russia's Ministry of Security."]

Armenia

Karabakh Leadership Agrees to CSCE Peace Plan

NC1706140793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1227 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Stepanakert, June 17 (SNARK)—Karen Baburyan, acting as the head of the Karabakh Parliament, met with Caroline Cox, vice-speaker of the House of Lords of the British Parliament, to inform her of the fact that the Karabakh agrees to the peace-making initiatives of the CSCE and it is the good will act of the Karabakh population. Caroline Cox has come with the humanitarian mission. Though the "schedule of extraordinary measures" doesn't supply the Karabakh population with security, Karabakh has decided to undertake this step. Karabakh is always speaking for peaceful measures to solve the problem. The Karabakh population believes the initiatives of the Minsk group of the CSCE. Karabakh hopes all the promises will be realized. Caroline Cox has expressed her hope for peaceful regulation of the conflict.

Sends Appeal to Rafaelli

NC1706114593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1106 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Stepanakert, June 17 (SNARK)—Today Karen Baburyan, acting as the chairman of the Karabakh Supreme Soviet, has sent a letter to Mario Rafaelli. The press-center of the Karabakh parliament has informed SNARK's reporter of the text of the letter which says that "the confrontation existing in Azerbaijan, the battle the opposition headed by Colonel Guseynov is undertaking, loss of the governmental forces control over the situation at the considerable territory cause the anxiety. In connection with the above mentioned reason I ask you for CSCE confirm the Azerbaijani leadership readiness and capability to supply the realization of those obligations which were taken to fulfill all the measures within your documents. Such confirm will help to make the situation in Karabakh be stable and overcome distrust to the statements the Azerbaijani leadership is doing. I consider it is necessary to delay the terms of the measures realization for a month, other terms are groundless."

Meanwhile SNARK News Agency has been informed today by the press- service of the Armenian Foreign Department of the fact that tonight Mario Raffaelli is going to introduce new terms.

Ter-Petrosyan Views CSCE Plan in Stepanakert

PM1606141393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Bablumyan report: "Nagorno-Karabakh Leadership Has Approved CSCE Initiative"]

[Text] The Armenian president's unexpected departure from Yerevan for Stepanakert 14 June was preceded by his statement which left people in no doubt that every effort would be made to persuade the leadership of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] to accept the CSCE peace initiative. The president's statement voiced concern at the reluctance shown by the NKR authorities to assume responsibility and at their refusal to take the opportunity to establish a truce.

Following the positive response from Baku, which was not long in coming, and then also from Yerevan, Stepanakert's protracted silence began causing unconcealed irritation in Armenia's top leadership. Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's more than 90-minute conversation with the leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh in Yerevan did not produce the expected effect either—after which Levon Ter-Petrosyan was forced to go to an unplanned meeting with them in Goris, which again was not very productive.

It was only after the Armenian top leader's arrival in Stepanakert on the afternoon of 14 June that the goal was achieved. Addressing a joint session of the State Defense Committee and the NKR Supreme Soviet Presidium, L. Ter-Petrosyan set forth his arguments in favor of accepting the CSCE initiative—after which he left the session participants on their own, enabling them to adopt a decision independently. The proposed document was approved by a majority of votes. Mindful of the tense situation in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, however, a proposal was made to ask Mario Rafaelli, chairman of the CSCE Minsk group on Nagorno-Karabakh, to defer somewhat the withdrawal of NKR military subunits from Azerbaijan's Kelbadzharskiy Rayon.

Not having altered his attitude toward the CSCE proposal, Georgiy Petrosyan, acting head of the NKR parliament, resigned. The duties of chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet have been entrusted to Karen Baburyan, member of the NKR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

There are grounds for believing that forces in opposition to Armenia's official authorities will regard Ter-Petrosyan's mission in Stepanakert as a strong-arm action undertaken for the purpose of "twisting the arm" of intractable Karabakh. There is thus a likelihood of the political situation in Armenia being exacerbated. Having completed his trip to the NKR, Levon Ter-Petrosyan returned to Yerevan.

Press Secretary on Visit

NC1606151293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1347 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Jun (SNARK)—Aram Abrahamyan, the press- secretary of Armenian president has announced to SNARK's reporter that on President Ter-Petrosyan's opinion after the getting agreement of Karabakh on trilateral "plan of urgent means" the possibility of peaceful settlement has been appeared. Commenting on the signing of the plan by Presidium of Karabakh Supreme Soviet and the visit of Ter-Petrosyan to Stepanakert, Aram Abrahamyan said that the Armenian side didn't press to Karabakh. According to the observers, the unexpected Ter-Petrosyan's visit, which has been first since he became the president, had been caused by the position of Karabakh guidance. It is supposed in case of refusal of Karabakh the ceasing of U.S. humanitarian relief and Russian credits are threaten to Armenia. During [words indistinct] reporter Aram Abrahamyan said the Russia didn't put forward such ultimatums. Abrahamyan hasn't refute the information about U.S. pressure to Armenia, but he refuse to comment it.

Azerbaijan

Armenian Formations Launch 'Mass Offensive'

LD1606135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku June 16 TASS—Armenian formations have launched a mass offensive on Agdam and Agdere regions of Azerbaijan on Wednesday morning [16 June].

The press service of the Azeri president reported that they had seized two Azeri settlements. Heavy fighting is still going on. It is difficult to aid units of the Azeri National Army, since part of the regions adjoining this zone of hostilities is under control by supporters of the former army commander Surat Guseynov, who is in opposition to the government forces, the same source said.

Deputy chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference on Nagorno-Karabakh, Mario Sica, had been notified about the situation which emerged in the zone of the conflict, confidential reports said. According to the press service of the Azeri president, Armenian officials account for today's offensive by the fact that armed formations who launched the offensive were acting in defiance of the general command.

Experts of the analytical centre set up under the Azeri president's office, believe that the offensive of the Armenian forces "is in conformity with the logic of all previous activities of the Armenian side, which repeatedly rendered null and void all previously reached international agreements on the settlement of the long-standing conflict by means of stepping up force measures."

'Rebel Units' Control Approaches to Baku

LD1706104393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Azerbaijan has deteriorated sharply. According to a report by TURAN agency, rebel units have established control of the approaches to Baku, to the south and west of the capital. At the same time, regular Armenian troops continue advancing in the area of Agdam, where the headquarters of the Azerbaijan Armed Forces in Nagorno-Karabakh are situated.

According to the latest reports, the government intends to enter into negotiations with representatives of the rebel troops in order to avoid expansion of the zone of bloodshed.

'Critical Situation' Reported

NC1606155593 Baku TURAN in English 1520 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 16 Jun (TURAN)—As TURAN agency has been just informed in the Defense Ministry of the republic a critical situation has arised in the district of Agdam town. As a result of today's large-scale operation Armenian Army captured 8 villages, the enemy moved forward into Azerbaijani territory on 8 kilometres from the north and 15 kilometres from the south of Agdam town. About 40 armoured equipment units, long-range artillery and military helicopters take part in Armenian attack.

Agdam is a town with 80 thousand population situated on the east of lower Karabakh. It is an important strategic point which borders on three districts of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Heavy battles are being fought on the north of Karabakh as well. Armenian units try to capture the regional centre Agdere (the former Mardakert). Three Armenian tanks and three MMP [infantry combat vehicles] have been put out of the action here.

Troops Encircling Agdam

LD1606182293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1750 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva]

[Text] Baku, 16 Jun (TASS)—As follows from a report of Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry that has just been received, in the Agdam rayon of Azerbaijan to the east of Karabakh, where Armenian forces have been conducting an offensive since 12 June, an extremely serious situation is emerging.

As a result of four days of fighting Armenian troops have succeeded in advancing 10 to 15 km deep into the rayon's territory and capturing eight villages. The threat of encirclement hangs over the rayon center—the town of Agdam, the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry reports. The forces of local self-defense and of the national army are hastily evacuating the civilian population.

Civilians 'Urgently' Evacuated

NC1606183793 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1719 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] According to information just received from the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry, the situation is extremely [words indistinct] in Agdamskiy Rayon. After bitter fighting the Armenian units advanced 10 to 15 km inside the rayon and occupied eight villages [words indistinct]. There is the fear that Agdam city might be completely besieged. The civilian population is being urgently evacuated.

Offensive Linked to Signing Minsk Plan

NC1606174293 Baku AZERTAC in English 1641 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 16 June (AZERTAC)—Today in the morning Armenian Armed Forces launched offensive against the Agdamskiy and Agdere [Mardakertskiy] districts of Azerbaijan. According to the press- service of president of Azerbaijan, the enemy captured two Azerbaijani settlements, and the fights are still continuing. According to the same source, it is very difficult to help to the sub-units of Azerbaijan National Army, because some districts, borders on the zone of conflict are under control of Surat Guseynov's supporters, who come out against the government.

In the afternoon, the Azerbaijani Government spreaded the appeal to the soldiers and officers of National Army to unite all forces to fight against the foreign aggression.

Mario Sica, the vice-chairman of Minsk conference on Upper Karabakh, received the information about the situation in the zone of conflict. According to the press-service of Azerbaijani president, Armenian officials explain the above-mentioned offensive as "insubordination of sub-units, that took this offensive in spite of the order of general command." According to the another version of Armenian party, this offensive is connected with the fact that "taking into consideration the complicated social-political situation in Azerbaijan, Armenian party is not able to guarantee the fulfillment of all conditions of the plan of urgent measures on the peaceful settlement of the conflict."

According to the opinion of experts of analytical centre, operating in the Azerbaijani presidents office, "the coincidence of the offensive of Armenian Armed Forces with the signing of the above-mentioned plan arises from all previous actions of Armenian party, that used to bring to nothing the achieved international agreements on peaceful settlement of the conflict."

Danger of State 'Collapsing'

NC1606191493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Arif Aliyev, head of the presidential press service, revealed at a briefing today that the Armenian military units attacked Agdamskiy and Agderinskiy Rayons this morning. Two residential areas in the republic were occupied. Violent fighting is taking place. There are civilian casualties. Aliyev said that supporting the Azerbaijan National Army units has become difficult because some of the areas around the disputed rayons are controlled by Surat Guseynov's supporters. Aliyev said that [words indistinct], deputy head of the CSCE Minsk conference on Daghlyk Karabakh, has been informed of the situation in the disputed areas. According to Aliyev, Armenia's official circles have said the operation was carried out by units that are not affiliated with the General Command headquarters. According to the Armenian side, the situation is linked with Baku's failure to implement the urgent measures aimed at removing the dispute caused by the complex sociopolitical situation in Azerbaijan.

The briefing focused significant attention on the situation in the republic caused by the incidents in Gyandzha. Arif Aliyev said that regardless of President Elchibey's appeal to the personnel of military unit 709 supporting Surat Guseynov, the armed confrontation between the unit and government forces continues. An exchange of fire occurred in Navahi last night. There were casualties on the two sides. The incident reportedly took place when government forces refused to comply with an ultimatum by Surat Guseynov's support to withdraw and open the way to Baku. According to the press service, the situation in the area was calm in the morning [words indistinct].

Surat Guseynov's supporters placed [name indistinct] under their control. Tragic incidents occurred in the area. The briefing heard that Irfan Zeynalov, deputy head of the executive authority, was killed. Arif Aliyev said government bodies have taken no resolute measures against the rebels because President Elchibey believes that as far as possible, using peaceful methods to deal with the crisis is essential. Nevertheless, Aliyev said the incidents will spread if no resolute measures are taken. He said he believes the activities of Surat Guseynov and his supporters have set a dangerous example, which will form the basis of continuing military pressure in Azerbaijan. That creates the danger of the state collapsing. The republic's leaders are trying to find a peaceful way to remove the crisis, to prevent the military units that the state does not control from advancing on Baku, to avoid bloodshed, and to end the military confrontation through political [words indistinct].

Presidential Press Service Issues Appeal

NC1606200793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

["Text" of the Azerbaijani Presidential Press Service appeal to 'officers and men' on 16 June—read by announcer]

[Text] Officers and men, using the recent tension in Azerbaijan, the Armenian Armed Forces have intensified their military operations and launched a serious attack on Agdam and Agdere. The enemy has occupied several towns. Many peaceful people have been killed or wounded. Violent clashes are taking place. We have received reports that military material and equipment dispatched by the Defense Ministry to the frontline have been obstructed by [word indistinct] and plundering groups in [word indistinct], surrounding rayons, and roads.

We appeal to every soldier in Azerbaijan who has taken up arms: Unite all forces in the struggle against the foreign enemy. As we stand at the threshold of liberating Kelbadzhar after a long diplomatic struggle, do not create an opportunity for the occupation of new territories in the republic by using the arms supplied to you to defend our border and ancestral land to solve the political problems in the country through armed force. Do not forget your main duty to defend the homeland and safeguard the security of the people. Do not forget the military oath you have taken to do so.

[Signed] Azerbaijani Presidential Press Service

Russian Official Asked To Help Stop Aggression

NC1706082293 Baku TURAN in English 0730 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 17 (TURAN)—Asim Mollazadeh, Azerbaijan presidents plenipotentiary at the negotiations on Nagorno-Karabakh had a telephone talk with Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] representative at the negotiations on Nagorno-Karabakh. Russian diplomat was informed about the next large-scale offensive of the Armenian Army to Agdam, that caused numerous victims among the civil population. A. Mollazadeh called the Russian side to exert influence upon the Armenian side aimed at the stopping of aggression. As Azerbaijan President Press-Service informed, V. Kazimirov promised to do everything possible to put an end to the aggression.

Guseynov Negotiations Continue; Aliyev Participates

NC1706075393 Baku TURAN in English 0658 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 17 (TURAN)—As one informed source in President Elchibey apparatus reported, the talks with rebellious Surat Guseynov are not stopping even for a minute. Geydar Aliyev is taking part in the talks too.

Yesterday the guidance of Azerbaijan once more confirmed the guarantees of Surat Guseynov's security in case his refusal of armed struggle against authorities.

At the same time, the opposition leader Etibar Mamedov actively took part in the negotiations process. He has been contacting with Surat Guseynov several times for these last days. "Nobody will be allowed to spill the blood in Baku", said Etibar Mamedov in his talk with TURAN correspondent, commenting the rumours about insurgents possible capturing Baku.

Reports on Diplomats, Experts Leaving Said Not True

NC1606171393 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1456 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 16 Jun (AZERTAC)—Reports alleging that foreign embassy officials and specialists have left Baku because of the sociopolitical situation in Azerbaijan are not true.

Turkish Ambassador to Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu told AZERTAC's correspondent today that his embassy staffers remain in their posts. He also said no Turkish citizens working here have left Azerbaijan.

French Embassy staff have formally informed the republic's government that there is no intention of leaving Baku. The Russian, British, German, and Iranian diplomats are staying.

The reports apparently arose in connection with the departure of family members of U.S. Embassy officials from Baku two days ago. A U.S. Embassy official said these people are now in Turkey and will return once the situation in Baku stabilizes. Specialists working for the American "Amoco" oil company have also left temporarily.

Rally Reported Under Way in Baku

LD1706053293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] According to an ANI report, power has been seized in Lenkoran, in southern Azerbaijan, by local militia commander Alikram Gummetov. He has removed the head of the local administration from his post and also freed the leaders of the local branch of the Azerbaijan Popular Front, who had previously been arrested. Observers believe Gummetov is not linked to rebel leader Surat Guseynov. It is more likely that he heads supporters of autonomy for Lenkoran and other rayons.

At the same time, a rally of Popular Front supporters is taking place in Baku in front of the president's residence. Around 400 participants are demanding armed resistance to Guseynov's detachments and also the reinstatement of Iskander Gamidov as interior minister. The former minister himself has held talks with President Elchibey, but without results.

Elchibey, Turkish Officials Discuss Tension, Measures

NC1606201093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] President Elchibey received Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Ali Naci Tuncer and Foreign Ministry

Adviser Ozden Sanberk today. The main objective of the meeting was to discuss the tension in Azerbaijan and measures to remove the situation. The people's awareness and their responsibility as citizens must play an important role in the effort to remove the confrontation as quickly as possible.

Turkish Ambassador to Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu attended the meeting.

Russian Envoy Voices Concern Over Political Situation

LD1606192293 Baku AZERTAC in Russian 1740 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 16 Jun—The Russian ambassador in Baku has expressed Russia's deep concern over the latest events in Azerbaijan, which led to the armed clashes in Gyandzha and the deaths there and which have dramatically worsened the internal political situation in the country.

In its statement the embassy emphasizes: "Russia and Azerbaijan are linked by historical ties of good neighborliness and cooperation. The people of Russia are sincerely interested in seeing an end to the bloodshed and violence in friendly Azerbaijan so that the democratic changes embarked upon in the sovereign Republic of Azerbaijan might be crowned with success."

[Signed] V.Ya. Rustamov [spokesman of the Azerbaijani president's press service]

Georgia

Cease-Fire Violated; Aid Deliveries Begin

LD1606133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1221 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 16 TASS—Both conflicting sides in Abkhazia accused each other of violating the ceasefire announced to allow Russian humanitarian aid deliveries to the conflict zone.

The press service of the Abkhazian parliament told TASS on Wednesday that Georgian forces opened fire on the villages of Pokvash and Baslakhu overnight wounding three Abkhazian soldiers. The shelling resumed early on Wednesday. Abkhazian units did not fire back, according to the source.

The Georgian forces, in their turn, said that Abkhazian guerrillas opened intensive fire along the whole of the Ochamchira front late on Tuesday. Mortar fire was opened on Georgian positions near the settlement of Labra, electric power transmission lines were damaged and Sukhumi again remained without electricity.

Gennadiy Bigvava, the commander of the Second Georgian Corps in Abkhazia is ready to allow observers into the zone of conflict to determine who is violating the ceasefire, according to employees of the pro-Georgian government of Abkhazia who arrived in Adler to monitor the Russian aid deliveries.

In the meantime a Russian landing craft is expected to bring 400 refugees from Sukhumi to Sochi late on Wednesday.

Aid deliveries to the besieged city of Tkvarcheli are impeded by ruined bridges and the trucks have to use another road which is 30 kilometres longer.

Shevardnadze Wants Bundeswehr Troops for Peacekeeping

AU1606143593 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 15 Jun 93 p 4

[Bernd Ziesemer report: "Russia and Germany Have Key Functions"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 14 June—Georgian Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze wants to use Bundeswehr soldiers as "peacemaking forces" in the bloody conflict in Abkhazia. This solution would be ideal," the former Soviet foreign minister said in Tbilisi in an interview with HANDELSBLATT. Shevardnadze will come to Bonn on an official visit on 23 June. Since last August the fighting between Georgian government troops and Abkhazian separatists has killed at least 3,000 people. The guerrillas have been massively supported by Russian Army units over the past months. During his latest talks with Moscow's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev Shevardnadze got the impression, however, "that the Russian side is now also trying to settle the conflict in Abkhazia." The head of state wants to convene a peace conference under UN aegis by the beginning of July to come to a cease-fire and a final pacification of the western Georgian province.

Since Russia itself is a party to these conflicts, an independent force must monitor the observance of the cease-fire in Abkhazia. "I would welcome it very much if Germany were to provide soldiers and officers as peacemaking forces," Shevardnadze said. "Georgia has complete trust in Germany. And the Russians and Abkhazians have no reason, either, to be suspicious of the Germans." The majority of the Georgians and Abkhazians has already understood "that this war is pointless," Shevardnadze stressed.

Hope for Economic Aid From Bonn

A military solution to the conflict is impossible also because the Abkhazians are part of "our people." "We must establish peace at any cost," Shevardnadze stated. "If we are notable to stabilize the situation in our state, we will slide into anarchy, into a complete disaster."

The Georgian head of state also hopes to get economic aid from Germany during his visit to Bonn. "Our economic situation is very difficult," Shevardnadze said.

"Real hunger might emerge already tomorrow. Our industrial facilities are idle not least because in the past they were closely linked with Russian companies." However, the war in Abkhazia prevents an improvment of the Russian-Georgian economic relations. If a cease-fire is achieved, the 65-year-old politician stressed, an entire package of agreements could be signed by the end of June. A total of 25 Russian-Georgian agreements have already been prepared. "I assume that we have to build completely new relations with this large country," Shevardnadze stated. Russia is indispensable for Georgia, in particular from the economic pint of view, even though may followers of the nationalist opposition in Georgia do not understand this. Conversely, Russia, too, has an objective interest in cooperation with Georgia. Therefore, the government in Tbilisi is trying to reestablish relations with Russia. The question of Georgia's joining the CIS, however, is "not topical" at the moment and will probably not become topical in the future, either. Much rather, Georgia is striving for "robust bilateral agreements," such as have already been concluded with many other former Soviet republics.

Shevardnadze admitted that German businessmen can hardly be interested in investing in Georgia under the current conditions. If the situation stabilizes, German industry could, however, quickly find promising partners in Georgia. The government in Tbilisi is making every effort to create "normal conditions for economic cooperation" with the West. As an example of good cooperation at the moment Shevardnadze cited the activities of the Siemens corporation, which recently signed a contract on the expansion of telecommunications in the Caucasus republic.

Relations between Georgia and Germany need "not start from scratch," the former Soviet foreign minister said. He is proud that ha has made "a certain contribution to Germany's contribution." Reunification is "one of the main events of this century," Shevardnadze stressed. "Therefore, I have special relations with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Richard von Weizsaecker." Therefore, he is "very curious" about his visit to Bonn next week and expects "very much" from the meetings.

"Special Relations" With Kohl and Von Weizsaecker

Shevardnadze sees for Georgia an important economic role as a bridge between Asia and Europe in the future. During his latest visits to Kazakhstan and China the Georgian head of state discussed the possibility of a "corridor through the Caucasus," following the example of the old silk road. Transportation routes and pipelines for oil and natural gas would reach from China via Kazakhstan, the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Bulgaria, and Romania, to Germany. Several countries have already expressed interest in founding a consortium for this project, Shevardnadze said. Therefore, he wants to discuss this plan with representatives of German industry during his visit to Bonn.

In Georgia Shevardnadze sees his most important domestic task in building up a successor. Young politicians, such as current Defense Minister Georgia Karkarashvili or Security Chief Irakliy Batiashvili, have been deliberately appointed by him to prepare a generation change in the highest state offices. He returned to Tbilisi only "because my country was facing civil war," Shevardnadze said. He is proud that today, with its freely elected parliament, Georgia is "on the path of democratic development" despite all its difficulties.

Top Military Adviser on Abkhaz 'Path of War'

AU1606143093 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1,2

[Interview with Colonel Vladimir Chikovani, chief military adviser to the Georgian Armed Forces commander in chief, by GIA correspondent Vladimir Tavadze; place and date not given: "Why the Gudauta Side Does Not Want Peace"]

[Text] Since the beginning of June, the situation in Abkhazia has again become acute. Not only the positions of the Georgian Armed Forces in the direction of the Gumista River and Ochamchire but also adjacent villages are coming under regular fire from the Abkhazian armed formations. Since 5 June, the residential districts of Sukhumi and the villages of Shroma and Akhalsheni have been fired upon from artillery guns and "Grad" launchers, and the peaceful population is again being killed.

How can one explain such flagrant violations of the cease-fire by the Abkhazian side? It is with this question that the GIA correspondent began his conversation with Colonel Vladimir Chikovani, chief military adviser to the head of state-commander in chief of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces.

[Chikovani] Unfortunately, what I said about the illusory nature of the cease-fire in the conflict zone a few days ago at the press conference have been confirmed. We are in possession of information according to which the Gudauta leadership does not want to end the armed conflict and has used the truce not to establish and consolidate peace but to make military preparations in order to continue combat actions. This can be explained best of all by the fact that, during the armed conflict, Vladislav Ardzinba [head of the Gudauta-based government] and his retinue have created long-lasting military structures whose functioning it is not so simple to halt.

Thus, there are more than 100 highly paid military instructors working in the Abkhazian armed formations for whom the end of the war means losing their jobs, salaries, and a certain influence upon those around them. Naturally, they are trying as hard as they can to prevent the ending of military actions. The same can be said about the mercenary forces that have established themselves in the command apparatus in Gudauta and are dictating their way of resolving the Abkhazian problem. This is the path of war and its aim is the separation of

Abkhazia from Georgia. If the conflict ends peacefully and Vladislav Ardzinba attempts to split with these forces, this will not be easy at all and will require much painstaking effort on his part. This is one of the main factors hindering the establishment of peace in Abkhazia.

Another no less important factor are the considerable material resources invested by the Gudauta side to acquire weapons. This money is still "at work." Weapons and equipment continue to arrive: More than 6 million cartridges and more than 80 tonnes of military goods, including different types of weapons have been bought. Following the talks in Sochi, 12 "Grad" launchers with several basic loads of ammunition and 26 artillery systems, including long-range ones, were added to the resources in Guduata. The destruction of the city of Sukhumi began precisely with their appearance among the Abkhazian armed formations. This process, which, unfortunately, cannot be stopped with the signing of a pen, is continuing in spite of the peace agreement and the declaration of a cease-fire and even in spite of the fact that the heads of state of Russia and Georgia are acting as the guarantors of this cease-fire.

Through the working groups attached to the personal representatives of the heads of state for regulating the armed conflict in Abkhazia, we proposed to Vladislav Ardzinba that observers be exchanged who would be able to control the actions of the sides during the cease-fire. Moreover, it was proposed that there should be five Gudauta observers for every one Georgian observer. Ardzinba did not agree to this and, evidently, not without good reason.

[Tavadze] How did the Georgian side use the truce that turned out to be, alas, so short?

[Chikovani] During the truce, we decided to complete the educational year in the schools and higher educational establishments in Abkhazia, finish the sowing, investigate the situation regarding the supply of products to the population in the conflict zone, and implement many other plans aimed at switching to peace and a stabilization of the situation. Yet, how can one occupy oneself with peaceful matters when, before our eyes, on the orders of the Gudauta leadership, permanent concrete fortifications have begun to be erected along the right bank of the Gumista River and armed formations are openly taking up their positions and occupying bridgeheads from which the assault on Sukhumi was previously launched! As of 3 June, 18 permanent emplacements and machine-gun nests have been constructed.

There are also other facts showing that the Abkhazian side has not abandoned an armed resolution to the conflict. According to information supplied by intelligence, armed detachments from the Confederation of Mountain Peoples have again started to arrive in Abkhazia via Lake Ritsa, the Auatkhara pass, and Pskhu. Last week, we established that a group of 200 persons followed by a 300-strong group crossed via this route and now it is expected that a detachment numbering up to 1,000 men will arrive in Gudauta from across the Russian-Georgian border.

We are also surveilling the increased activities of the Gudauta emissaries who are recruiting volunteers from among Abkhazian refugees in Tuapse, Novorossiysk, Temryuk, Krasnodar, Armavir, Maykop, Ust-Labinsk, the Krimskaya and Veselaya cossack settlements, and also in the Dniester region. It is quite clear that these reinforcements will not be arriving in Abkhazia to establish peace and calm.

The flights carrying humanitarian aid to Tkvarcheli were also far from being used by the Gudauta leadership for peaceful aims. There were 24 illegal night flights that landed in different populated localities. We have information that, precisely under cover of humanitarian aid cargoes, manpower and weapons were transported to the villages of Tamysh, Mokvi, Chkhortol, Aradu, Merkula, Beslakhuba, and Okhurey where, over the period of the cease-fire, more than 2,000 mercenaries have been concentrated. On 2 June, an IL-76 and three AN-24's landed at Bombora airport with equipment and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] members from the Dniester region; approximately 1,000 are already concentrated in Tkvarcheli where they have set up their headquarters and raised their flag alongside the flag of "Aydgilara," the Abkhazian National Front.

Through Russian observers, we have demanded written guarantees from Vladislav Ardzinba that the humanitarian aid flights are not be used for military purposes and that the conditions of the cease-fire be observed at least during the duration of these flights. However, he has not given any guarantees.

One cannot fail to be alarmed also by the increased intensity of the transfer of subunits of the operational group of Russian forces in Abkhazia by rail and road through Russian border posts and by air through airspace not controlled by the Georgian authorities. During the last 10 days of May, an echelon of Russian troops and equipment arrived. Regarding such preparations by the Russian military, I can recall how, on 5 April, during the talks in Sochi, the Russian 901st separate assault battalion in Sukhumi was stacking sandbags against the windows, 3,000 of which had been brought from Bombora. We were astounded: What was this for? After all, things were moving toward peace and Russia had taken upon itself to promote a peaceful settlement. It turned out that the preparations had not been in vain as the destruction of Sukhumi by artillery and aircraft soon followed.

One can cite many other examples that show that the Gudauta leadership is responsible for increasing tension during the periods set aside for creating conditions for a peaceful regulation of the conflict in Abkhazia. Therefore, as a retaliatory measure, the Georgian Government has again been forced to concentrate its armed forces in those places where it anticipates an assault by Abkhazian armed formations that have already launched three large assaults on the city of Sukhumi, aimlessly and thoughtlessly shedding the blood of their own and our fighters. At the same time, since the signing of the Moscow document on 3 September 1992, the Georgian side has not undertaken a single offensive operation.

Shevardnadze To Visit NATO Headquarters 23 Jun

LD1706031993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2015 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels, 17 Jun—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze is to visit NATO's Brussels headquarters on 23 June. A spokesman for the bloc announced this on Wednesday [16 June]. The Georgian head of state will meet NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and will address a session of the NATO Council at the level of permanent representatives of the member countries.

National Democratic Party Supports Shevardnadze

LD1606212893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Statement by the Georgian National Democratic Party—read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in our country has become extremely strained lately. Without any exaggeration it can be said that the young Georgian state is facing an enormous danger, and this danger, as it did in 1921, originates from imperialist Russia. A suspiciously and dangerously activated network of Russian agents succeeded in uniting both parliamentary and non-parliamentary opposition together with Zviadist forces against the Georgian state power. Destructive forces do not conceal their banners, and if it goes on like this, Georgia will encounter yet another explosion our people will no longer survive.

The situation is made still more complicated because the enemy forces managed to alienate some forces formerly supporting Shevardnadze while some others voluntarily moved to the opposition camp. A [word indistinct] government stationed in Grozno and openly supported by Russia has become more active. Gamsakhurdia gathers his local supporters using recommendations and references of the Russian intelligence service.

The activization of Russians and Abkhazians is expected in Abkhazia and the loss of Sukhumi and Ochamchire will create perfect background to remove Shevardnadze. An extremely poor financial condition of people and the problem of bread make the situation worse and help the destructive forces to accomplish their intentions. Opponents of the Georgian state intend to rally people against the government by over-stressing social problems.

The Georgian National Democratic Party cannot and is not intending to change its attitude towards the head of state. We believe that today, Georgia can be led out of the crisis and its statehood can be saved only under the leadership of Eduard Shevardnadze. However, unless the head of state changes his style of work, unless he implements radical changes in all spheres of life, unless he cares for the establishment of order and discipline in the country, and unless he eventually sets up a team together with which he will really take up the reigns of government, Georgia will not survive.

People will endure extreme hardship if they have a hope that the situation will change. People forgive mistakes but not inertness. Order and discipline, supremacy of the law—these are today's mottos and goals; the head of state, every citizen of Georgia should do their best to achieve this. Only in an orderly situation will the political as well as economic stabilization and rebuilding of the state be possible.

We appeal to the head of state to take more vigorous and radical actions and we appeal to the Georgian people to show more endurance so that our heavy material situation is not used by enemies of Georgia.

As for the Georgian National Democratic Party, in case the head of state does not wish to carry out more vigorous policy and does not stop petting obvious criminal elements we will not abandon him. Each member of the National Democratic Party together with Tbilisi citizens, with every honorable Georgian will oppose destructive and anti-Georgian forces and will come out into streets alone to safeguard order and the peace of citizens. Law must be law for everyone. Only in order and discipline does the survival of Georgia lie.

This statement has been delivered by the CONTACT news agency.

Tsereteli Justifies Call For Shevardnadze Resignation

AU1606144293 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 10 Jun 93 p 1

[Interview with Irakliy Tsereteli, leader of the National Independence Party, by Vika Chubinidze; place and date not given: "Irakliy Tsereteli: 'I'm Not Concerned by the Fuss Being Made by the Police...'"]

[Text] As we have already informed you, at the session of the Republic of Georgia parliament on 3 June, Irakliy Tsereteli, leader of the National Independence Party [NIP], once more, though this time more categorically, called for the resignation of the head of state.

We direct your attention to the following interview with the NIP leader.

[Chubinidze] Why did you make this statement in Shevardnadze's absence? After all, was this ethical?

[Tsereteli] I have spoken about his resignation before. It was simply necessary at that moment in time. The situation has become ripe; he has lost the war in Abkhazia and, to all intents and purposes, that in Samachablo [south Ossetia]. Economic policy has totally failed and the people are starving. The 1921 Constitution is being ignored. Finally, a treaty is being prepared with Russia that very much resembles a modern version of the Treaty of Giorgiyevsk [signed by Russia and Georgia on 24 July 1783, which effectively placed Georgia under Russian suzerainty].

Today, the Georgian people need unity and consolidation whereas this will not happen under the Shevardnadze "banner." He is simply obliged to go. This is the main political basis for my demand.

[Chubinidze] However, is it fair to blame one person given all our hardships today?

[Tsereteli] I see only one thing: Since his return to Georgia, the situation has sharply deteriorated while Shevardnadze's supporters are feeding the people with illusions about his outstanding personality. People are fed up with that endless talk about his influential and powerful foreign friends, particularly as half of them have already been removed from their posts.

[Chubinidze] On whose support are you counting in making such a statement?

[Tsereteli] In the first place, I am relying on the people. It is a joke, don't you think, that, up to now, the 300,000 people in Mingrelia [rayon in western Georgia loyal to ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia] have not recognized Shevardnadze?... I am also counting very much on the parties that are represented in the Council of the National-Liberation Movement.

[Chubinidze] And on parliament?

[Tsereteli] I believe that "Charter-91," the I. Chavchavadze Society, the Merab Kostava Society, and the Union of Traditionalists will support me.

[Chubinidze] Let us suppose that Shevardnadze does not "obey" you. What then?

[Tsereteli] I want to say unequivocally that I do not support a military coup. We will act by using peaceful methods. However, if he opposes our peaceful rallies and if they are dispersed by force, then, somehow, we will find weapons. However, I want to emphasize once more that this would be an extreme measure.

Of course, no one can guarantee that the Zviadists [supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia] will seize the opportunity to "create a stir"....

[Chubinidze] But unsanctioned rallies have been officially forbidden....

[Tsereteli] I am hardly concerned by the bans imposed by some local officials or by the fuss being made by the police authorities. If the supreme law—Article 33 of the 1921 Constitution—states that no special permission is required to hold a peaceful rally, unarmed people have the right to gather and assert their convictions. Incidentally, I have to point out that they will not find it easy to disperse our rallies!

[Chubinidze] Whom do you see occupying the post of head of state should Shevardnadze resign?

[Tsereteli] A provisional Georgian national congress should be elected, which will be invested with all the rights of an assembly, in which the full spectrum of political forces in the country will participate. It is precisely this congress that should prepare new elections to parliament to which may be elected all Georgian citizens who have not committed any criminal offenses.

[Chubinidze] Why do you exclude the possibility of Shevardnadze's reelection? This is highly probable despite your claim that he has few supporters.

[Tsereteli] Then let Zviad Gamsakhurdia also take part in the future elections....

Bread Shortages, 'Economic Chaos' Continue

LD1606103093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0910 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 Jun—The economic chaos and very acute shortage of foodstuffs and especially bread is forcing the population of Georgia to take desperate measures. For example, in western Georgia, the local population have blocked the movement of trains at Zestafemi railway station and are demanding bread and a meeting with representatives of the republic's leadership.

Despite the fact that the cost of bread doubled yesterday, purchasing it remains a problem because it is the main—if not the only—foodstuff for an overwhelming proportion of the republic's population.

The bread grain situation cannot be improved by the scanty supplies from abroad. A few days ago, for example, just under 30,000 tonnes of wheat arrived in Georgia from the United States, which is equivalent to about six kgs per inhabitant of the republic.

Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan Stop Natural Gas Supplies

LD1606102593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0858 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi June 16 TASS—Turkmenistan ceased pumping natural gas to Georgia as the former Soviet republic cannot afford the fuel the price for which had doubled of late.

Another Central Asian Republic, Uzbekistan, followed suit as Georgia cannot afford the transit of gas via its territory. The transit fare has also doubled of late.

Estonia

Laar Comments on Success of Visit to Finland

LD1606191193 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Premier Mart Laar returned last night from a visit to Finland. On Monday [14 June] he opened the first international congress on the history of the Finno-Ugric peoples at Oulu University, and yesterday he met Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho.

[Begin Laar recording] Several issues of interest to both sides were discussed. In the main it was acknowledged that cooperation between our countries, ministries, and civil servants is so close and successful that we can conclude that our relations are developing very well. Also discussed were issues to do with the first summit of its kind, due to take place in Tallinn in the autumn, where the premiers of three countries—Hungary, Estonia, and Finland—will meet. The round of issues to be discussed at the meeting was decided.

Mutual economic cooperation was discussed and the agreements which have been signed by now [words indistinct] as well as cooperation and aid priorities and issues to do with a free trade agreement. The Finnish side acknowledged that it is happy to conclude a free trade agreement [words indistinct]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Defense Minister Discusses Forces Reorganization

LD1606225893 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Interview with Defense Minister Hain Rebas by correspondent Ain Saarna "today" in Pullapaa—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Saarna] Defense Minister Hain Rebas, we can recall that it was precisely a governmental commission for tidying up the defense forces which was one of the first commissions to be set up when the new government came into office. It seems that this work continues.

[Rebas] Yes, we did hand in a report on time, by 5 December, but we were given an additional mandate to carry out a very extensive coordination and standardization of the whole Estonian defense system. This trip to Pullapaa today forms a link in the chain, so to speak, but we work more extensiveley than that. There is a major reorganization being carried out also at the Kaitseliit [defense league]. Old membership cards will be collected and new ones issued, but only to those men who are trusted. So we are moving along the same lines also in the Kaitseliit. The same is in general happening also in the defense forces. As is known, we have a new commander of the defense forces, Colonel Einseln, who was also appointed defense forces inspector and who comes from the west and other officers from the west will come into it. There too, a renewal and cutting of dead wood are taking place.

The same applies also to our intelligence and counterintelligence. A person has been found to coordinate the activity in this sphere, and this is progressing fairly vigorously.

Reorganization of border guards comes also under the same coordination and standardization action. We are not talking about dismantling border guard activities; we are talking about reorganization, because I as the defense minister have been charged with the task of taking care of state-run defense structures, and not any defense or guard structures set up by any one department which at some time in the past may have been functioning very well. It is important for us to have standardization across the state so that we form a uniform system, with command from one center; and no parallel structures or even three or four of these, perhaps, with no control over them at all and no ability to act promptly. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Survives No-Confidence Vote

WS1706094193 Tallinn BNS in English 2015 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 16, BNS—The Estonian parliament today by 42 votes against, 39 for and one abstention rejected a move by 29 MPs who demanded a vote of no confidence in Interior Minister Lagle Parek. The minister herself at the time was continuing a training course in the United States.

Opposition's attacks against Parek came after the minister, shortly before leaving for the United States, signed the dismissal of Border Department head Andrus Oovel. Oovel had before rejected the prime minister's offer to file his resignation.

Prime Minister Mart Laar before the voting today said that Parek's actions had been in full compliance with the law and added that the cabinet didn't consider it right to discharge Parek.

"The opposition knows that it lacks the 51 votes necessary for a vote of no-confidence, and therefore it seems that what we have here is a propaganda event taking place in the valuable working time of the Riigikogu (parliament)," Laar said.

The prime minister also said he thinks that Parek at the present time is the right person to manage the difficult task of heading the Ministry of the Interior.

In response to the opposition's claims that the government was going to split the functions of the Border Department between different authorities, including the defense forces, Laar said no radical changes will take place on the border until a clear and final concept for border defense is worked out.

The leader of the opposition Centrist faction, Arvo Junti, said it was a pity that Parek was not present at the meeting of the parliament. He said that the interior minister was sacking competent people and appointing people to high offices just for their party-allegiance.

Parliament Speaker Ulo Nugis said the parliament leadership had suggested to the cabinet that Parek be called back from the United States for today's meeting. The legislative body's working rules, however, don't require the presence of the minister concerned at the vote of censure.

Parek in an interview with the Tartu-base Postimees daily said she didn't consider it necessary to travel to Tallinn for the debate.

Also about a hundred supporters of the opposition had followed Tuesday's appeal by opposition leaders and gathered before the parliament and government building at Toompea to demand Parek's resignation.

The picketers in their slogans also attacked Defense Minister Hain Rebas, who took heavy blows from opposition before the attacks focused on Parek.

Lithuania

Polish Defense Minister on Ties, Kaliningrad

WS1706093793 Tallinn BNS in English 2015 GMT 16 June 93

[Text] Vilnius, June 16, BNS—Poland attaches great importance to relations with the neighboring Lithuania, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Polish defense minister, said at a press conference Wednesday [16 June], commenting on a cooperation agreement between Lithuanian and Polish defense ministries, signed in Vilnius Tuesday.

He noted that relations between defense ministries are a significant part of interstate cooperation.

Lithuanian Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius said the aim of the agreement is to find a place for Lithuania in "the new architecture of security in Europe."

As reported, Lithuania and Poland agreed to cooperate in specialist training, military scientific-research work, airspace control and other fields. According to the agreement, both sides will also hold political consultations on the situation in Europe, in the Baltic states and will coordinate positions at various international forums.

Onyszkiewicz said he sees "no obstacles" in case Lithuania would like to purchase army equipment in Poland. Moreover, Poland is interested in helping in the creation of Lithuanian armed forces and to hand over some military equipment to Lithuania.

Butkevicius said Poland produces a number of weapons which meet the requirements of the ones already purchased by Lithuania. This allows to buy spare parts and ammunition, as well as some other equipment.

The Polish minister said Lithuania and Poland do not intend to conclude a treaty on military cooperation, which would allow joint actions in case of an aggression. He said the times of such pacts "have already passed or have not come yet." Onyszkiewicz said if a threat of an aggression appears, this would be an issue for international consultations. The minister said he does not see any threats similar to the ones Lithuania and Poland encountered in 1939-40.

Butkevicius added that only general security is possible in a modern world, thus there is no sense to conclude bilateral security pacts.

The Lithuanian minister pointed out the specific "Lithuanian- Polish aspect" of the agreement signed. He said the history of Lithuanian-Polish relations is sometimes "full of myths," and this hinders their further development. The minister said the Vilnius agreement will be "an ice-breaker" in relations between Poland and Lithuania.

Virginijus Papirtis, Lithuania's vice minister of foreign affairs, took part in the press conference, as well. He said the Lithuanian side recently considered the Polish version of a draft for an agreement on interstate relations, and presented its own version to Poland.

Onyszkiewicz said the concentration of Russian troops in the Kaliningrad region exceeds its defensive needs, however this could be explained by certain practical problems that Russia meets with. The Polish minister expressed hope that Russia realizes the interests of its neighbors, and will reduce the number of its soldiers in Kaliningrad in the future.

Agrees To Sell Weapons

LD1706025793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Poland has agreed to supply weaponry to the Lithuanian Armed Forces. This was announced by Polish Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who met with journalists today.

Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius meanwhile claimed that many weapons produced in Poland measured up to the standards of those the Lithuanian Army possesses now. In Mr. Butkevicius' opinion, Lithuania could also buy in Poland radar equipment. Both Mr. Audrius Butkevicius and Mr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz highly appraised the Lithuanian-Polish treaty on military cooperation they signed yesterday.

Seimas Elects New Deputy Chairmen

LD1706122293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1030 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Vytas Usas]

[Text] A new Seimas leadership was elected today. In secret voting Neris Germanas was elected Seimas chancellor [kancleris]; Juozas Bernatonis, Egidijus Bickauskas, and Aloyzas Sakalas were elected deputy chairmen of the Seimas.

Central Bank Chairman Announces Introducing Litas

LD1606203993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Lithuania is introducing its national currency, the litas. It is to replace the talonas, a provisional currency unit which has been circulating in Lithuania since 1 October last year when Lithuania stepped out of the ruble zone.

Head of the Central Bank of the country, Mr. Romualdas Visokavicius, addressed the nation on Lithuanian television tonight, announcing that the litas would be put into circulation as of 25 June. Talonas meanwhile will be withdrawn from circulation by 20 July. As of 1 August the litas will become the only the legal tender for all debts and payments in Lithuania.

The talonas-litas exchange rate will be 100:1, that is 100 talonas will equal one litas. Thus, one litas will equal a quarter of the dollar.